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LYON: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHETYPAL URBAN FORMS: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PUBLIC REALM OF THE ANCIENT CITY

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

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Abstract

The public realm of the ancient, Western city evolved situationally – over time and in response to the *ethos* of its citizens. Some of the urban forms that were born within the context of the ancient city are still in use today. These now archetypal forms met the specific needs of the ancient city, and as they were repeated, patterns arose that came to define what a physical city was. The physical form of the city and the citizen body were intrinsically linked in the ancient world – and in ancient Greece were defined by the same word – *polis*. In Rome, the city and the collective citizenry come to be defined separately – as *urbs* and *civitas*, respectively. The Romans continue to use and elaborate upon the urban forms and patterns developed in Greece, in support of the Roman *civitas*. The development of the public realm and its most archetypal forms, from the *stoa* to the public plaza, of a selection of ancient cities will be examined in three parts; Greece, Rome, and Roman colonies. Within these three representative examples, a tripartite examination of the myths, rituals, and development of the public realm will give a complete picture of the city – its form and its *ethos*.

First, the Greek city will be discussed using the architectural development of the Athenian *agora* within its historical and political context. With an understanding of the Greek public realm, specific architectural advancements, including the *stoa* form, of the Greeks can be better understood. Second, the Roman elaboration of the Greek forms will be traced in the growth of the Forum Boarium in Rome. While situationally-developed, the archetypal urban forms that grew in Greece and Rome came to define urban patterns that could be used in new settings, like those of colonial settlements, while retaining the *ethos* of the original. From its first colony of Ostia to its exemplary Gallic capital of Lyon, Rome established a codified set of urban patterns that both represented and explained Roman urban values to its expanding populace. Finally, the Roman contributions, particularly the colony and

fora patterns that evolved in Gaul, will be examined in detail using the colonial capital of Lyon as the primary example. As new socio-political systems evolved – the *polis* in Athens and the Empire in Rome – correlating urban forms developed in support of them. In the ancient city, the city and the public realm were the containers for ritual action – and the architecture that developed reflected this basic purpose of the city.

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Introduction

The *polis* is where so many of the functions of the Western public realm originate, so any search for the archetypal forms of the Western city must begin with the *polis.* According John Camp, excavator of the Athenian *agora*, it is from the *polis* that

> *we trace not only the origins of the modern world – the development of coinage, the market economy, the politics of democratic government – but our idea of just what it means to be human.*[1]

In the ancient Greek world, the city was a matter of survival. A city with good government and sturdy walls meant peace and safety. Greek towns before the fifth century B.C. were often centred on an easily defensible acropolis. These sites were chosen for reasons of survival, although a connection could be made between survival and being the recipient of sacred blessing. Daily life in the ancient city was permeated with and regulated by rituals practised to ensure favour with the gods and thus survival. These rituals did not conflict with daily life but were instead an enhancement of it. This intertwining of rituals and daily life continued in the Roman world and beyond. According to Plutarch (45-120 A.D.), philosophy and divination were not mutually exclusive, with divination explaining the cause behind an event and philosophy being the end for which the event was designed.[2] The profane and the sacred lived comfortably side-by-side in the ancient city.

[1] John M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*, New Aspects of Antiquity, Pbk. ed (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992). p. 7.

[2] "Now there was nothing, in my opinion, to prevent both of them, the naturalist and the seer, from being in the right of the matter; the one correctly divined the cause, the other the object or purpose." in Plutarch, *Lives, Volume III Pericles and Fabius Maximus. Nicias and Crassus.*, Loeb Classical Library ; LCL065 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916). Pericles, VI, p. 17.

It was through participation in daily rituals that man understood his place in the world. Even the new spatial awareness that would develop in Greece in the sixth century B.C. was born from ritual. Public rituals that re-enacted historic events and the settings that hosted the re-enactments were both key to the establishment of shared values and the education of new participants in those shared values. Whether real or mythical, shared legends like the founding myths of ancient cities shaped identity, and the recurring rituals that celebrated these myths were marked in the city's fabric.

So, it was through social interaction with large-scale communal activities like festivals that residents of a city derived their self-identity.[3] Religious and civic rituals in combination with the physical setting in which they were performed resulted in the placed identity of urban man. As Keith Lilley explains,

> *this mutually reinforced social and spatial ordering of townspeople was important because through it the inhabitants of a city were placed in the eyes of themselves and others, defining and projecting their identity, a placed identity.*[4]

The ancient city was the setting for rituals that taught collective values through observation and participation. In his *The Idea of a Town,* Rykwert concludes;

> *I have been concerned to show the town as a total mnemonic symbol, or at any rate a structured complex of symbols; in which the citizen, through a number of bodily exercises, such as processions, seasonal festivals, sacrifices, identifies with his town, with its past and its founders.*[5]

In the ancient cities of Athens, Rome, Ostia, and Lyon interaction within and with the city was a required part of daily life. Since these rituals played such an

[3] For a discussion on the role of festivals and other collective activities on both self- and communal identity in the ancient Greek city, see Pauline Schmitt-Pantel's essay "Collective Activities and the Political in the Greek City" in *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

[4] Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion, 2009). p. 145.

[5] Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Princeton, [N.J.]: Princeton University Press, 1976). p. 189.

important role in the development of the city, it is important to understand city-wide rituals like the annual renewal festivals that celebrated a city's origin myths and ensured its survival for another year.

This type of festival was a re-enactment of historic, paradigmatic events used to renew order. Large-scale rituals like festivals defined the calendar and time in the ancient city. The number of festival days varied over the course of ancient Greek and Roman history, and varied from city to city, but a yearly calendar with more than 150 days marked for sacred festivities was unexceptional. Some renewal festivals, like the Athenian Greater Panathenaia, lasted over a week and required city-wide participation. Rome's festival calendar also included several festivals that celebrated the city's origins and mythical past. And in Roman Lyon a yearly festival celebrated the city's Gallic past alongside its Roman present and future.

Festivals followed a prescribed set of rituals that often included communal offerings, sacrifices, feasting, and a procession. Urban festivals of the ancient world consisted of most, if not all, of the following essential parts; conflict, participation, blessing, and consecration. The form of the festival bound together the participants in sacrifice, mimicked the blessing requested in feasting, and re-consecrated the area under protection through tracing the city from boundary to centre in a procession. Festivals defined the calendar, defined the limits of the town, and defined the populace's identity. Sacred ritual, the city, the city's public realm, and even the participation of the individual citizen were all necessary to the city fulfilling its purpose.

Jean-Pierre Vernant describes the internal changes in the "mental organization" of the Greek individual when the *polis* was emerging as; [6]

> *affect[ing] the entire picture of his activities and psychological functions: perspectives on space and time, memory, imagination, the individual person,*

[6] The *polis* system developed in Greece between the eighth and fourth centuries B.C.

> *the will, symbolic practices and the manipulations of signs, modes of reasoning and argumentation, categories of thought.*[7]

With these developments in man's psyche came a change in the way men saw, interpreted, and interacted with the environment around them. According to Vernant, it is;

> *possible to distinguish the factors that in ancient Greece determined the transition from a conception of space that was religious, qualitative, differentiated, and hierarchical to one that was homogenous, reversible, and geometric.*[8]

The view that sixth-century Greeks held of themselves was centric, with a clear division between the Hellenes at the centre and the barbarians outside. This centric worldview extended to the physical environment as well. The reigning view of the universe was tripartite: an unstable and chaotic below, the "solid and sure" base of the earth, and the "unchangeable solidity" of the upper realm of the gods.[9] The accepted view of the *cosmos* included man's dwelling – the earth – at its centre. Man occupied the centre in both the tripartite universe of Hesiod and in the more balanced universe of Anaximander (c.610 – c.546 B.C.). Vernant explains that Anaximander's view of the universe showed the beginnings of the spatial awareness revolution to come. He believed,

> *the earth is like a truncated column in the middle of the cosmos, able to remain immobile because, being at an equal distance from all the points on the celestial circumference, it has no reason to go right rather than left or up rather than down.*[10]

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[7] Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks* (New York: Zone Books, Distributed by MIT Press, 2005). p. 9.

[8] Jean-Pierre Vernant, *The Origins of Greek Thought*, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1984). p. 20.

[9] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 200.

[10] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 201.

Vernant claims Anaximander "introduced a new kind of space – no longer the space of myth with its roots and its jar, but a geometrical space".[11] The developments in urban form in Hellenic cities, particularly Athens, in the sixth and seventh centuries support Vernant's claims. And scholars including Karsten Harries, Paul Zucker and Martin Heidegger agree that the beginnings of spatial awareness lie with ancient Greece.[12, 13]

Just as the greater *cosmos* was arranged with man occupying a central place, the everyday world of man was also based around a number of centres, from the private hearth to the public *agora*. This concept of space came directly from the belief-system of its users. According to Vernant,

> *the geometric character of the new conception of the world thus seems to have been modelled on the image that the city-state presented of itself. It was expressed in a political vocabulary that conveyed what the Greeks believed to be original in their civic institutions, compared with states that were subject to a king's authority.*[14]

The *polis* both came from and was modelled upon the *polloi*, the many or the citizen body, and physically,

> *The distinguishing feature of space in the city-state is precisely that it appears to be organized around a central point. Because of the political significance attributed to it, this center is exceptionally important. First, as the center, it imposes an order on this space, for each individual position is defined by it and in relation to it. As a legal inscription at Tenos puts it, in the center is the collectivity (meso pantes); on the outside are the individuals (choris hekastos).*[15]

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[11] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 201.

[12] Harries. pp. 279-280.

[13] "space was never formed before Hellenistic times." Paul Zucker, *Town and Square: From the Agora to the Village Green*, 1st M.I.T. Press paperback ed. (Cambridge,Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1970). p. 32.

[14] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 216.

[15] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 213.

This new kind of space reflected the new *polis* system – a system in which all (adult males) were actively involved in governance and thus had to take into account the needs of the whole community.

According to Peter Carl's interpretation, Aristotle considered the purpose of the *polis* to be "the condition for the highest level of understanding – the *bios theoretikos*, rooted in virtue".[16] A literal translation of *bios theoretikos* would read "the theoretical life,"[17] but the term is more nuanced than this. The root of *theoretikos* comes from the Greek verb "to view" – *theaomai*.[18] From the ancient perspective, the viewing did not separate one from life but was instead a part of rational life – view and assess to arrive at conclusions. As Piotr Jaroszyński concludes, the *bios theoretikos* "consists in the contemplation, rational viewing, of reality. This is the highest manifestation of life".[19] The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake was the highest objective. Within this rational life came the pursuit of justice and the knowledge of history, as well as the advancement of science through observation.

The culture that spawned *bios theoretikos* as an ideal also concluded that the common good was the goal of the city, the setting of man. According to Aristotle,

[16] Peter Carl, 'Convivimus Ergo Sumus', in *Phenomenologies of the City : Studies in the History and Philosophy of Architecture*, ed. by Henriette Steiner and Maximilian Sternberg, Ashgate Studies in Architecture Studies (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015). p. 14.

[17] Piotr Jaroszyński, *Science in Culture* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B. V., 2007). p. 13.

[18] Jaroszyński. p. 13.

[19] Jaroszyński. p. 13.

who lived in ancient Athens, man is a social being and needs to live communally.[20] In order to meet this need to live collectively, the good of the collective had to be considered. Within the microcosm of the city many individuals made up an urban cohort with shared needs. For the Greeks, the *polloi* or populace made up the *polis*, just as the *civitas* or citizen body later made up the Roman city or *urbs*, although *civitas* and *urbs* are often both translated simply as 'city'. As nineteenth century historian Fustel de Coulanges explains,

> *Civitas was the religious and political associations of families and tribes; Urbs was the place of assembly, the dwelling-place, and, above all, the sanctuary of this association.*[21]

From the ancient world, Aristotle agrees, writing,

> *When several villages are united in a single complete community, large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing, the state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life.*[22]

With this definition of the city it follows that the forms that make up the public realm of the city must be suited to the service of the citizens. There was reciprocity between the individual and the city that was defined by justice for all in the Greek city. In Rome would come a shift from justice to order as the defining goal of the city when the change from republic to empire was made. If an individual acted according to the rules for order and justice, they earned the right to be a part of the city and partake of the advantages of urban life.

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[20] The most likely source for this now common theory is the passage; "When several villages are united in a single complete community, large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing, the state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life. And therefore, if the earlier forms of society are natural, so is the state, for it is the end of them, and the nature of a thing is its end. For what each thing is when fully developed, we call its nature, whether we are speaking of a man, a horse, or a family. Besides, the final cause and end of a thing is the best, and to be self-sufficing is the end and the best. Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal." Aristotle, *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, Past Masters, Electronic ed (Clayton, Ga: InteLex Corporation, 1992). 1252b28-1253a7.

[21] Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws and Institutions of Greece and Rome*, A Doubleday Anchor Book, A76 (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1956). p. 134.

[22] Aristotle. Book I, 1253a3-1253a7, p. 1987.

The closed nature of the urban spaces built by the palace cultures that preceded the *polis* curtailed participation in the public realm by the community. Many of the pre-*polis* city's central functions, from justice to law-making, did not involve public participation or the public eye. With the development of the *polis* system, there was a need for a public realm that was open and inclusive. The public architecture (and cities) that developed had to represent the values of the *polis* system and accommodate the functions essential to its maintenance. The new spatial consciousness born of both reason and ancient ritual began to be deliberately externalised on the scale of the city. In addition to the social advancements, the emerging human consciousness of sixth century Greece, *bios theoretikos,* led to new developments in urban forms. For Aristotle, the *polis* had to have

> *the concrete conditions – the architectural settings – for debate/agon comprise the principal institutions of the polis for making and judging laws (bouleuterion, heliaia), for tragedy and comedy (theatre), for ceremonial games (stadium and agora), for symposia (house), and for sacrifice (shrines and temples).*[23]

The city was the setting for the proceedings that were necessary to the running of and continuation of the city, from courts of justice to large-scale festivals that ensured the protection of patron gods and goddesses. The physical forms that developed related directly to the events they hosted.

The urban innovations of the Greeks, in addition to being so closely linked to the community they served, grew over a period of time from their place – intrinsically linked to their topography, geography, and shared history.[24] Situational development, including both practical and mysterious cues, was the genesis of urban form. Through continual situational development, ancient cities developed the forms that hosted activities crucial to maintaining the community for thousands

[23] Carl. p. 14.

[24] This refers to Greek mother cities – colonial cities and the cities founded by Alexander the Great were 'willed' cities that were developed over a much shorter timeframe.

of years. Like many Greek cities, Rome was also a 'situational' city. Joseph Rykwert maintains that the development of the Roman city

> *show[s] the elaborate geometrical and topological structure of the Roman town growing out of and growing round a system of custom and belief which made it a perfect vehicle for a culture and for a way of life.*[25]

The *Pax Romana* was a period of unprecedented colonisation on the part of the Romans during the first centuries B.C. and A.D. With the expansion of the Roman Empire came safer and better-maintained travel routes. Cross-empire trade flourished and the Roman army spread Roman culture beyond the Alps with many veterans settling in the wider empire. In colonial towns a balance had to be maintained between the imported Roman *ethos*, the essential values of the *civitas* or collective citizenry, and the local culture – all in a city that was imbued with Roman order. The form Roman cities took was a distillation of Roman cultural values – including religious and civic practices. Since they offered a more ideal vision of a city than cities with longer and more muddied histories, colonial settlements offer a particularly clear image of the founding culture. The urban forms that had developed over time in the mother city still served their original purpose even after being exported wholesale to the new locations. The Romans carried their culture, from their town-founding rite to their architectural forms, with them. As idealised cities, these new colonies were as close as possible to the cosmic city on earth. The Roman town took a form that was recognisable as 'Roman' on sites from Turkey to Northern Africa to England – each of which had its own local populace, local customs, local religions, and local building practices.

A Roman city was not 'Roman' without certain elements – the parts that made up the formulaic Roman colonial city were recognisable across the Roman world. Like the Greek city, the Roman city also included the concrete conditions required to

[25] Rykwert. p. 25.

fulfil the city's purpose: making and judging laws (basilica, courts, forum), for tragedy and comedy (theatre and odeon), for ceremonial games (circus and amphitheatre), for *symposia* (house), and for sacrifice (altars, shrines, and temples). Even when cities were too small to support the number of monumental buildings listed above, the city would still need to support each of their functions. All of the functions except the more private *symposia* could take place in the town's forum if the town lacked dedicated facilities. In fact, forms that could host multiple activities were in support of *bios theoretikos,* allowing attendees to observe and participate in more rituals with a greater variety of fellow participants.

Rykwert explains the role of the city in a Roman's understanding of his place in the world;

> *It is difficult to imagine a situation when the formal order of the universe could be reduced to a diagram of two intersecting co-ordinates in one plane. Yet this is exactly what did happen in antiquity: the Roman who walked along the cardo knew that his walk was the axis round which the sun turned, and that if he followed the decumanus, he was following the sun's course. The whole universe and its meaning could be spelt out of his civic institutions – so he was at home in it.*[26]

In the colonial cities with their local cultures, there was a strong need for a new social identity and somewhere to develop it. The Roman colonial town and its distinctive forum complex developed to facilitate *bios theoretikos*.

Despite the changes the city has seen over the centuries, a basic agreement with Lewis Mumford's conclusion that the historic public realm holds possible lessons for our future cities underlies this investigation into the ancient city. As Mumford says,

[26] Rykwert. p. 202.

> *If we would lay a new foundation for urban life, we must understand the historic nature of the city, and distinguish between its original functions, those that have emerged from it, and those that may still be called forth.*[27]

To investigate how the ancient public realm was the result of and embodiment of the culture's civic *ethos*, an understanding of the public realm of a selection of ancient cities, both those that grew up over time and those cities that were founded as colonies or 'new' towns, is necessary. Exploring the architectural development alongside the social and political context of Athens, Rome, Ostia, and Lyon will illustrate the patterns that emerged as the ancient city developed from *polis* to transferable colonial town.

The archetypal urban forms developed in ancient Greece and Rome formed a pattern that coincided with the needs of the city's occupants. Roman colonial expansion eventually carried an idea of urbanism that was rooted in the Greek tradition around the Mediterranean and beyond. Despite the adaptation of the forms to unique geographic and cultural situations, the resulting pattern was still recognisable as 'Roman'. The ancient archetypal urban forms from Greece and Rome form a language and an understanding of this language in the context of human occupation of cities will help us to appreciate how public spaces for civic engagement were created in the past.

[27] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects*, Pelican Books, A747 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966). p. 11.

Methodology & Selected Literature Review

The question of the city's development has occupied scholars and leaders for centuries, from the Code of Hammurabi (1754 B.C.) in Babylon to Aristotle's (384 – 322 B.C.) *Politics* in Greece to Emperor Nero's rebuilding of Rome after the fire of 64 A.D. While Aristotle acknowledged in the fourth century B.C. that a perfect city form was unachievable, scholars are still occupied with how to make better cities and better public spaces today. The question of how the Western city developed is a complex one. The complexity of the question and the breadth of knowledge involved must be acknowledged. No one person, one generation, or even one culture will be able to answer this question in its entirety, in part because cities are fluid – change is inevitable with human habitation. And that change is magnified by the number and proximity of a city's inhabitants.

Understanding the history of the Western city requires knowledge in fields ranging from archaeology to philosophy and from anthropology to urban planning. There are scholars who have dedicated their life's work to the study of the public realm. To begin any study on the development of the Western public realm, an understanding of a selection of these works is necessary. With the breadth of related subject matter available, familiarity with the entirety of the written works on the Western city's development would only be possible with a lifetime of study, and perhaps not even then. So, the methodology used for the research was also used to define the literature selections.

While the extent of the subject area allowed for a multitude of approaches to the question, certain methodologies lend themselves to a study of urban development more than others. A quantitative approach would of course be ideal, but until the laws of physics change the past must be studied through the lens of the present. The realist must approach historical study qualitatively but with an attempt to stay

as close as possible to the question. First-hand accounts, site visits if sites are still extant, and art and literature from the period of history in question offer precious resources to the present-day researcher.

Due to the importance of site visits in any research into the city's form, a case study approach was selected. The case study cities needed to be exemplary examples of the culture they would be responsible for representing, leading to the selection of the 'capital' cities of Athens for the Greek city and Rome for the Roman city. To show the development of the colony form an early example and an example from the height of the *Pax Romana* needed to be studied. Using the criteria of; extant Roman fabric, accessibility, a long period of continuous habitation, and relative prosperity, Ostia and Lyon were selected to represent the development of the Roman colony form.

Extant Roman fabric would be important for doing on-site analysis and observation work, which my Masters in Architecture, minor concentration in History, and time spent working as an architect in the United States, China, and the United Kingdom prepared me for. Accessibility in the city's location meant I could easily take several study trips to the cities selected. Accessibility in the language of the source material meant a city located in either Britanniae, Galliae, or Italia Suburbicaria. For the minor case study, Ostia was (arguably) the first Roman colony and today is a very well preserved 10,000-acre site, making it one of the best Roman sites in which to do on-site analysis. With twelve years of French language study and my second minor concentration in French Language and Literature from university, the Gallic city of Lyon, eventual capital of the Three Gauls, was the clear choice for the main and final case study. Both Lyon and Ostia enjoyed long periods of habitation and relative prosperity during that habitation, which meant an inherent wealth of sources was available for both. However, the majority of the texts on Roman Lyon were written by archaeologist Amable Audin in the 1980s and mainly in French, so an architectural analysis of Roman Lyon was due.

The wide range of disciplines required for this investigation meant an interdisciplinary list of sources was needed. To use as wide a lens as possible some of the major texts in a range of disciplines were examined, including; philosophy (as it relates to the city), architectural theory, urban history, religion and ritual, and archaeology. While not all of the works examined in the research process are directly referenced in the following work, all contributed to the breadth of knowledge the project required.

Philosophy and political thought played a major role in the development of the city, particularly in ancient Greece. A range of philosophers both contemporary to the case studies and modern provided perspective on the question. Of the ancient philosophers, Aristotle and Socrates, through his followers, proved the most applicable on the question of the city, as both wrote on it at length and both lived in Athens in its heyday.[28] For Rome and its colonies, Vitruvius was the best source for the Roman perspective on what made a good city, although his work is more directed at the scale of architecture than the city.[29] Alongside the ancient authors, modern authors' analysis of ancient philosophers gave an additional layer of perspective. In this category, Vernant's discussion on Anaximander and Hesiod made these earlier Greek philosophers more accessible as well as relating their work to the ancient Greek conception of space.[30] Also, Katja Vogt's in-depth analysis of the tenants of the Stoics highlighted the political ideals that were most important when the Stoics were teaching.[31, 32]

[28] Aristotle.

[29] Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*, New Dover ed (New York: Dover Publications, 1960).

[30] Vernant, *The Origins of Greek Thought*.

[31] Katja Maria Vogt, *Law, Reason, and the Cosmic City : Political Philosophy in the Early Stoa: Political Philosophy in the Early Stoa* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2007).

[32] The Stoics were active for most of the time period of the Athens case study – from the third century B.C. until the second or third century A.D. by which point it has been adopted by the Romans.

In architectural theory, Harries' paradoxical work on finding modern architecture's shared *ethos*, or perhaps its lack thereof, also refers to historical architecture's *ethos*, making it an interesting extrapolation for an architect studying historic cities' *ethe*.[33] Robert Van Pelt and Carroll Westfall's *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism* gives a broad perspective on the current relationship between architecture and architectural history, both of which were again important in researching ancient urban history from the perspective of a modern architect.[34] For those modern scholars looking at problems in the past, Francois de Polignac comes to the fore for his illumination of the role of the extra-urban sanctuary in the development of the *polis*.[35] For the Romans, Rykwert's *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* is a thorough and wide-reaching text on the birth of the Roman city and required reading for any Roman city scholar.[36]

In urban history, there are many overview texts from which to choose a primer on the subject. However, Lewis Mumford and Spiro Kostof are the two great modern standouts for their breadth and depth as well their ability to make strong correlations between culture and urban form.[37, 38] From the ancient historians, the foremost scholars, for the purpose of this work, were the Greek Herodotus (c. 484 B.C. – c. 425 B.C.) and the Romans Livy (59 B.C. – c. 17 A.D.) and Cicero (106 B.C. –

[33] Harries.

[34] Robert Jan Van Pelt, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1991).

[35] François de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (University Of Chicago Press, 1995).

[36] Rykwert.

[37] Mumford.

[38] Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992); Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

43 B.C.).[39] All three wrote extensively during the time periods of most interest for Athens and then Rome and Lyon.[40]

In the case of religion and rituals, both survey texts and texts on specific rituals that impacted the case study cites were needed. For the overview texts, Walter Burkert and Frederick Grant provided excellent and comprehensive source material for an overall understanding of, respectively, Greek and Roman religious thought.[41] In addition to his primer, John Scheid's work collating the evidence for festivals and sacrifices in the area of the Forum Boarium was a great tool when used in conjunction with the archaeological evidence.[42] Even more specifically, Jennifer Neil's work, put together for an exhibition on the Athenian Panathenaia, makes for an evocative and complete explanation of the festival.[43] Neil puts the known first hand and archaeological sources into context using contemporary artists depictions of the festival, mainly on pottery.

Since two millennia have passed since the time period of this study, the work of archaeologists would play an important role. The impressive work of Robert Bedon in which he catalogued not only the Roman colonies in France but also identified

[39] Herodotus, John M. Marincola, and Aubrey De Selincourt, *Herodotus: The Histories*, New edition edition (London ; New York: Penguin Books Ltd, 1996); Livy, *History of Rome, Volume I Books 1-2.*, Loeb Classical Library ; LCL114 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919); Marcus Tullius Cicero, *On the Commonwealth* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1929).

[40]Cicero has generally been proven to be accurate by the archaeological record. Livy and Herodotus writings after the fact and at a distance from their subject matters rely more heavily on sources that are secondhand or hearsay, and they must be read with this in mind.

[41] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985); Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1983); Frederick C. Grant, *Ancient Roman Religion*, The Library of Religion, no. 8 (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1957).

[42] John Scheid, 'The Festivals of the Forum Boarium Area: Reflections on the Construction of Complex Representations of Roman Identity', in *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 289–304; John Scheid, *An Introduction to Roman Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

[43] Jenifer Neils and Hood Museum of Art, *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Hanover, N.H. : Princeton: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College Princeton University Press, 1992).

ancient references to the cities provided an invaluable resource during the initial case study search and throughout the analysis of colonies dating to the *Pax Romana*.[44] Scholars of archaeology like Amable Audin, for Lyon, and John M. Camp, for Athens, who have thoroughly examined the physical remains and reconstructed in their copious writings their cities in their respective primes were invaluable.[45] Without their work, this analysis of ancient city patterns would not have been possible.

[44] R. Bedon, *Atlas Des Villes, Bourgs, Villages De France Au Passé Romain* (Paris: Picard, 2001).

[45] Amable Audin, *Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum* (Lyon: Association des Amis du Musées de la Civilisation gallo-romaine, 1981); Amable Audin, *Essai sur la topographie de Lugdunum* (Audin, 1959); Amable Audin, Fouilles *en avant du théâtre de Lyon*, 1967; Amable Audin, *Lyon, miroir de Rome* (Paris: Fayard, 1979); John M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*; John M. Camp, *Gods and Heroes in the Athenian Agora* (American School of Classical Studies, 1980); John M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Site Guide*, 5th ed (Princeton, N.J: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2010).

1. Greece

The legacy of sixth century Athens can still be felt in today's western cities. Any investigation into the development of the public realm of the western city must look at ancient Athens and at the Athenian civic centre, the *agora*. The Athenian *agora* was in part a product and a physical representation of the cultural flowering in politics, philosophy, science, and the arts that occurred in sixth century B.C. Greece. It served as the city's public centre from the time of Solon in the late seventh century through the Roman period and into the third century A.D.[46] The site of the *agora* saw settlement activity and hosted religious and civic rituals for centuries before it was officially designated for public use. The rituals and values that were of the longest duration – of the earliest origin and that continued to be practised or upheld for the longest period of time – left their mark on the *agora*. It is important to consider the developments leading to the Classical *agora,* as well as its final form.

Founding: Myth

The *agora* was the setting for, among other activities, the civic rituals of the Athenian *polis* and the first democracy. To better understand the architectural forms that developed to serve Athens and the new *polis* system, it is important to understand how the community was organised. In the late seventh century B.C. class conflicts erupted in Athens and its *chora*, the territory that surrounded and was associated with the city. As the *chora* encompassed the agricultural land that fed the city, the *chora* was essential to the city's survival. Symbolically, the *chora* was the receptacle of the city, "opening up a space into which qualities can be

[46] While the *agora* continued to be used as an administrative centre through the Roman period, the civic function of the space changed following Philip of Macedon's invasion in 338 B.C. The *agora* never fully recovered following the destruction of the city by the invading Heruli in 267 A.D.

received so that particular things can come into being".[47, 48] The city could not have come into being without the *chora*, nor could the city have continued without its *chora*.

In 594 B.C., the *archon*-elect or chief magistrate of the city, Solon, attempted to quell the class conflicts by granting rights to the struggling farmers of the *chora*. Solon began the process of granting equal rights to all citizens. But his reforms, while innovative, were not comprehensive. Under Solon's reforms, holding a public office like that of the *archon* was still restricted to the wealthy, landowning class. Even after Solon's reforms, tensions between different classes and populations, particularly coastal dwellers and the farmers of the interior, continued. These mounting tensions provided the perfect environment for a tyrant to seize power.

Peisistratos, backed by the farmers, was eventually successful in seizing power and ruled from ca. 560 to 527 B.C. Peisistratos' sons were less successful rulers than their father and were eventually ousted. Into this power vacuum came Kleisthenes, who elaborated on Solon's reforms. Kleisthenes reorganised the entire populace into ten 'tribes'. Each tribe consisted of coastal and interior-dwellers, as well as those from every segment of free society, so that each tribe was a cross-section of the Athenian community. A tribe selected fifty men to send to the "Council of 500", and from the Council were selected the *prytany* who took care of the daily affairs of government for a period of thirty-six days. In addition to the *prytany* and the Council, the open-air jury court, the Areopagus, and the Assembly of all citizens continued. This system –developed in the late Archaic Period – continued to rule Athens until the Macedonian invasion in the late fourth century B.C.[49]

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[47] Jeff Malpas, *Heidegger's Topology: Being, Place, World* (MIT Press, 2008). p. 71.

[48] Malpas is referencing Plato's words on chora from his Timaeus in which Plato gives an account of the formation of the universe.

[49] Charles Gates, *Ancient Cities: The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece and Rome* (London: Routledge, 2003). p. 229.

The masses or *hoi polloi* controlled the fate of the community for the first time. The people of Athens made up the city and held a distinct communal identity. The Athenian historian Thucydides (ca. 460 – ca. 395 B.C.) expresses the importance of the community in the making of the city in a speech he attributes to General Nicias. Upon facing the loss of their harbour and the potential of total defeat at the hands of the Syracusans, the Athenians held a council and decided to evacuate. Seeing the depression of the people at this drastic move, the commander Nicias exhorts his troops to remember that the people make Athens, not the place;

> *the fate of both you and them rests upon this one battle, now, if ever, is the time to stand out firm and remember, each and all, that those of you who are going to go aboard the ships are the army and navy of the Athenians, the whole state that remains, and the great name of Athens* [50]

With the switch from rule by a few to rule by many, there was a need for spaces that could accommodate great numbers. The new system called for large, open spaces with clear sightlines between orators and voters. The shift from the old, closed society of the palace-system of Minoan and Mycenaean Greece to the new, open *polis* system required fundamental changes in and additions to the city's form. In the new system, domestic architecture continued to reflect the closed nature of the palace-system. Private houses generally shared walls and were centred on internal courtyards with few openings onto the public street. The thresholds of private houses were sharp – there was not the transitional space that would develop at the entrances to the city's main public venues like the *agora*. This opening-up of the architecture of the public realm was not wholesale but developed gradually with the ideas that it reflected.

For Athens, the new conception of the world was defined by the symbolic body of the *polis* that was made up of the *polloi* and by the physical body of the *polis* where

[50] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Penguin Classics, Revised edition / with a new introduction and appendices.. (London: Penguin, 1972). Book VII, 64.

the assembly meetings of the *polloi* took place, the *agora*. In addition to the urban development exemplified by the *agora*, specific building types were invented to host the rituals that were central to the emerging culture, including the *stoa*.

Myths can be important tools in deciphering the origins and early development of ancient cities, both the *polis* and the shared identity of the *polloi*. Even in those cases where the myths have no connection to the physical evidence, they can explain the identity of the community that believed them. Athens had two myths associated with the city's founding and development. One described practically how the community developed with the help of the hero Theseus. The second gave Athens her patron goddess of Athena.

According to myth, Theseus created the *polis* of Athens after consolidating the political organisation of Attica, founding both the city and territory at the same time. Plutarch traces Theseus' lineage back to "Erechtheus and the first children of the soil" on his father's side and to the King Pelops on his mother's side.[51] King Aegeus of Athens, in his quest to be relieved of his childlessness, travelled to the oracle at Delphi to seek council.[52] On his return journey, he fathered Theseus with Arethra, the daughter of the King of Troezen.[53] According to Plutarch, Theseus was born in Troezen, a city founded by his maternal grandfather Pittheus.[54] To protect Theseus from Aegeus' enemies, Pittheus had word spread that Poseidon the patron god of Troezen had fathered Theseus.[55] Theseus was born of royalty and descended from town-founders.

Upon being told of his real parentage, Theseus

[51] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1914). Theseus. Book III, p. 7.

[52] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus. Book III, p. 7.

[53] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus. Book III, p. 9.

[54] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus. Book III, p. 7.

[55] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus. Book VI, p. 13.

> *refused to make his journey [to Athens] by sea, although safety lay in that course…For it was difficult to make the journey to Athens by land, since no part of it was clear nor yet without peril from robbers and miscreants.*[56]

Instead, against the advice of his mother and grandfather, Theseus chose to follow in the footsteps of his hero Heracles and make the journey by land.[57] Like other hero-founders and the original nomadic settlers of Greece, Theseus was born elsewhere and faced a challenging journey to arrive in Athens.

During Theseus' adventures on his journey to Athens, he

> *went on his way chastising the wicked, who were visited with the same violence from him which they were visiting upon others, and suffered justice after the manner of their own injustice.*[58]

In this way, Theseus had justice on his side during his journey, imbuing the entire undertaking and the eventual city-founding with righteousness. Justice prevailed and along with a founding myth, Theseus gave Athens the social mores that shaped the community.

At the end of his journey, he arrived at a boundary in the form of the River Cephisus. Theseus paused in his journey to observe a set of rituals that echo town-founding rituals and town-renewal rituals. He underwent rituals of purification and cleansing before making a sacrifice and partaking of a feast. Theseus then arrived in Athens to confusion – both in the city and in his father's house.[59] Due to the trickery of Medea, Aegeus nearly served his long-lost son poison but realised his mistake before any harm could befall Theseus. Aegeus then drank the poison himself. Before his death, Aegeus "formally recognized him before an assembly of the citizens, who received [Theseus] gladly because of his manly valour".[60] The public

[56] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus. Book VI, p. 13.

[57] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus. Book VI, p. 15.

[58] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus. Book XI, p. 23.

[59] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus, Book XII, p. 23.

[60] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus, Book XII, p. 25.

announcement and recognition by the community of Theseus' subjects sealed his place in the city. Like Aegeus' public announcement and its role in Theseus' acceptance by the community, in town-founding rituals, the naming of the town had to be done publicly in front of the community if the town was to be considered consecrated. Town-founding and renewal rituals were typically led by an *augur* or priest and witnessed publicly by the body of the settlers.[61]

The final step in Theseus' journey to become the leader of Athens involved marking the place where his public acceptance had occurred;

> *And it is said that as the cup fell, the poison was spilled where now is the enclosure in the Delphinium, for that is where the house of Aegeus stood, and the Hermes to the east of the sanctuary is called the Hermes at Aegeus's gate.*[62]

While the site has not yet been discovered, the sanctuary of the Delphinian Apollo is thought to lie to the east of the Olympieum.[63] If Plutarch is correct, with his last act as king Aegeus ensured the future of the city by guaranteeing Theseus' public acceptance. For this act, Aegeus made a fitting hero to oversee an entrance to the city.

Plutarch's recounting of the Theseus myth offers an example of the phenomenon of rituals being marked architecturally and continuing to shape the public realm of the city both physically and through shared history. The use of mythical heroes to guard or mark points of importance to the entire community continued and shaped the public realm of ancient cities. The Theseus founding myth and the rituals associated with it kept the founding of Athens alive. Ritual activity that predated the city's founding continued to be important in maintaining and renewing the city. According

[61] While less is known about Greek town-founding rites, similarities between what is known of the Greek rite and later Roman rites would suggest this to be the case in Greek town founding rites as well.

[62] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus, Book XII, p. 25.

[63] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus, Book XII, footnote 1, p. 25.

to Plutarch (45 A.D. – 120 A.D.), rituals performed during the lifetime of Theseus were still being carried out in his day. Athenians were still honouring Connidas, tutor of Theseus, with the sacrifice of a ram the day before Theseus' own festival.[64]

After establishing the hero-shrine to his father, Plutarch attests that Theseus then organised the *polloi* of Athens into the first *polis* when he

> *settled all the residents of Attica in one city, thus making one people of one city out of those who up to that time had been scattered about and were not easily called together for the common interests of all.*[65]

Then Theseus persuaded the people, from noblemen to farmers, to support a plan of reorganisation and democracy. Once the people were gathered and

> *after doing away with the town-halls and council chambers and magistracies in the several communities, and after building a common town-hall and council-chamber for all on the ground where the upper town of the present day stands, he named the city Athens, and instituted a Panathenaic festival.*[66]

In the founding myth of Athens, Theseus first consolidates the *chora*, then founds the town-hall, then the town, and finally he founds the festival responsible for the city's future welfare. The wider territory is defined, the centre is established, and then the *polis* is born from the town-hall centre. **Figure 2.1** Lastly, the festival that would ensure the continuation of the town through a symbolic repetition of this process was established. The existence of the Panathenaic Festival supports the myth of Athens' founding, at least for the ancient Athenians.

Whether the story of Theseus' journey to becoming a town-founder was myth or history is irrelevant. Theseus continued to be worshipped for centuries and as a

[64] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus, Book IV, p. 11.

[65] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus, Book XXIV, p. 51.

[66] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus, Book XXIV, p. 53.

demi-god was a figure with whom Athenians identified as something more than human but more accessible than the gods. By attributing to Theseus, who was a popular and communally-accepted figure, values like justice that were necessary to the common good, the communal acceptance of these values was strengthened. Theseus, like other demi-gods, provided a link between the world of the gods and the world of man, making him the perfect representative for the community. Camp argues that the cults of heroes such as Theseus were actually more popular than the official state religion that focused on the Olympian gods.[67] Theseus' tomb and shrine were eventually located near the monument to the eponymous heroes in the *agora* after his bones were returned in 480 B.C.[68] **Figure 1.1** The monument to the eponymous heroes was located on the same corner of the *agora* that hosted the Bouleuterion complex – the next incarnation of the town hall Theseus was supposed to have founded.

Both 'founders' of Athens, Theseus and Athena, are in some way associated with bringing justice to the city in myth. Peter Carl's retelling of the birth of justice in Athens illustrates the importance of history in the development of the ancient city's public realm. Carl's interpretation of the *Oresteia*[69] of Aeschylus (ancient Greek playwright, c. 523 – c. 456 B.C.) divides the "settings by which justice comes to the polis",[70] into four historical strata. The first of these strata pre-dates man and is history of the gods, particularly that of Prometheus and Tantalus. The second setting is that of Homer and Mycenaean temple-palaces. The third setting is of a golden age, which was represented by the creation of a shared sacred place for all Greeks – Delphi. Delphi was a manmade city but was also a sacred place with direct

[67] Camp, *Gods and Heroes in the Athenian Agora*. p. 23.

[68] Rykwert. pp. 33, 206 footnote 42.

[69] The Oresteia concerns a series of revenge-murders that begins with Agamemnon's murder at the hands of his wife. At the bequest of the god Apollo, Agamemnon's son Orestes murders his mother and her lover. Orestes is then hunted mercilessly by the furies until he escapes to Athens and begs Athena for help. Athena sets up the first jury trial in the history of Athens as the only way to bring an end to the tragedy.

[70] Carl. p. 14.

links to the gods through the oracles. The fourth and final setting is truly that of man – the court of Athena in Athens. Although it is in a manmade setting, in the *Oresteia* it is the goddess Athena who casts the deciding vote and thus establishes civil justice in the *polis*.[71]

Every move Athena makes in the trial of the *Oresteia* appears to be made with the fate of Athens in mind. Athena's judgment in favour of Orestes leads him to promise fealty to the city from his descendants. Her judgment also garners the support of Orestes' ally, the god Apollo, for the city. Even when dealing with the 'losers,' the Erinyes, Athena grants them powers and a permanent holding in the city. The tale ends with Athena leading a procession through the city to the Erinyes' new holding. Justice here is practiced in the city's favour. The trial is sealed with ritualised interaction with the city through the procession. The procession would also have served as an announcement of the judgment to the citizen body. Like the course of justice seen in the Oresteia, the function of justice as practiced by citizens also required the participation of the entire city, particularly the citizen body. The physical setting for the act of justice in the city had to meet this need for openness, inclusion, and participation by the citizens. The settings for public services in the *polis*, from justice courts to the theatre to altars for sacrifice, would need to be open and visible.

Founding: Ritual

Despite the sweeping nature of the social and political changes in sixth century B.C. Athens, earlier ritual traditions were not abandoned but were often incorporated into the new system. Shared history and rituals contributed to the community's identity and reinforced the new *polis* system. Religious ritual was seen as essential

[71] Carl. p. 14.

to the survival of the society and the continued existence of the city – both *polis* and *polloi*. Van Pelt describes the story of the city as;

> *the various ways in which the city has structured and architecturally embodied its public realm as a forum where individuals assemble and act in order to gain, retain or regain what Lifton identified as a collective sense of immortality.*[72]

Ritual activity and sanctuaries are well attested in Greece from early in its history. Mountainous and hilltop sanctuary sites occurred frequently in central Greece during the Archaic Period. De Polignac goes so far as to call the Archaic Period in Greece the "age of sanctuaries".[73] This era saw more new sacred spaces appear than any other and "many of these remained in use for most of antiquity".[74] The increase in sanctuaries cannot be attributed to an increase in settlement activity alone. Some sanctuaries performed the role of "central gathering place for the inhabitants" in areas without major settlements.[75]

Some of these sanctuaries may date back to at least the Early Iron Age, if not earlier. De Polignac offers Hymettos in Attica, the *chora* of Athens, as an example of one of these very early hilltop sanctuaries. When these archaic peak sanctuaries were at their height in numbers and use,

> *they form[ed] an almost continuous chain in central Greece, from Boeotia to the north-eastern Peloponnese, with frequent visual links between the highest mountain peaks, such as Parnes between Boetia and Attica, and*

72 Robert Jan Van Pelt, 'Athenian Assurance', in *Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 279–314. p. 180. referencing Robert Jay Lifton and Eric Olson, *Living and Dying* (London: Wildwood House, 1974). p. 19.

73 François de Polignac, 'Sanctuaries and Festivals', in *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (Chichester, U.K. ; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 427–43. p. 427.

74 de Polignac. 'Sanctuaries and Festivals'. p. 429.

75 de Polignac. 'Sanctuaries and Festivals'. p. 429.

perhaps also Cithaeron and Helicon, Hymettos in Attica, Ochi and probably Dirphys in Euboea, Oros in Aegina, Naxos in the Cyclads and so on.[76]

The Archaic Period sees not only an increase in cult places but also "a new visibility and autonomy, and consequently a new social significance" for these sanctuaries.[77]

The development of the *polis* system and the "age of sanctuaries" coincide. While current theories connecting the two phenomena are only speculative, in some cases, like at Sparta, a shared sanctuary played a crucial role in the formation of a *polis*. The festivals and large-scale shared rituals carried out at these sanctuaries also had a role to play in the development of *polei*. According to Burkert, the "most impressive feature" of the rituals carried out at peak sanctuaries was the lighting of a great fire at night.[78] Even when peak sanctuaries were 'unlit', they still served as way markers for pre-settlement tribes – both geographically and temporally.

The acropolis of Athens would have made an attractive site for settlement when the transition from a nomadic lifestyle to a more permanent existence occurred. While there is no archaeological evidence that the Athenian acropolis served as a sanctuary before becoming a permanent settlement, the nature of the site's topography – the highest point for miles in any direction and thus closer to the gods – would suggest this as a possibility. In addition to any sacred associations the acropolis may have had, the site of Athens offered the blessings of fresh water, nearby arable land with rivers for irrigation, natural caves within the rocky slope of the acropolis, a defensible hilltop, and nearby access to the sea.[79]

While of a later date than these archaic sanctuaries, the myth associated with one of the earliest known Greek temples, the temple to Hera at Samos, offers some

[76] According to Burkert, more than twenty of these hilltop sanctuaries have been conclusively identified. Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 26.

[77] de Polignac. p. 427.

[78] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 27.

[79] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 19.

insight into how sites came to be 'sacred'. According to myth the 'plank' image of Hera, presumably a crudely carved wooden cult image, was discovered in the branches of a sacred willow tree. This miraculous find "determined the site of the sanctuary".[80] Sites were designated as belonging to the gods through 'sacred' topography like caves, hilltops, or groves, or through a supernatural sign. According to Burkert, "If ever a breath of divinity betrays some spot as the sphere of higher beings, then this is evoked by institutionalized cult".[81] Once cult sites were 'revealed' to man, they had to be marked in a manmade way,

> *The sacred site must be marked unmistakably, but natural features are seldom appropriated for this purpose…the simple marking with rock and tree is usually sufficient.*[82]

The first archaeological signs of ritual use are typically layered deposits that show many offerings were left over time. An open, central altar upon which sacrifices were made usually followed. Finally, more substantial structures like temples were added, and this pattern "is the general rule throughout the Greek world".[83]

The first stone structures were erected at many of the peak sanctuaries in the Second Palace Period, five centuries after clay figures from the First Palace Period attest to their ritual use.[84] The ritual actions that were repeated at designated points in time and place in order to ensure future continuity defined sanctuaries long before architecture did. The site's power was confirmed when worshippers received blessings and another year passed without major disasters. As gatherers returned and gatherings grew the site would have become imbued with powers of "wider cosmic significance".[85] Repeated use contributed to the site's power through

[80] J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece: 900–700 BC* (Routledge, 2004). p. 321.

[81] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 85.

[82] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 85.

[83] Coldstream. p. 321.

[84] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 26.

[85] Mumford. p. 18.

the shared nature of the site, the behaviour the rites taught through repeat visitation, the connections made between individuals, families, and tribes. In areas without market towns, sanctuaries and their festivals served the same role as a market town – uniting families and tribes that lived in more isolated communities for much of the year. Communal rituals, particularly visceral rituals like sacrifice combined with the definition of space through rituals of movement created the first sanctuaries. Festivals seen in later periods, like the Panathenaia in Athens, evolved from these early seasonal rituals.[86] These early rituals probably followed similar patterns to later versions with processions or communal convergence on the cult site, sacrifices performed in the open, and communal feasting featuring prominently.

The initial reasons behind the origins of these sanctuaries varied, but their influence on later permanent settlements can be clearly attested. The hilltops that drew ritual activity were often also ideal sites for settlements. The defensive nature of hilltops lent themselves to settlement in a period when tribal warfare was frequent. Mumford counts the sacred places to which people returned at specific times each year for gatherings as the "first germ of the city".[87] While not every seasonal sanctuary developed into a settlement, many ancient settlements were defined by pre-existing cult sites. Many follow this pattern of communal gathering place transforming first into a sanctuary and then into a permanent settlement. The towns of Eretria and Sparta are just two examples of this transition from seasonal ritual site to urban form.

De Polignac offers Sparta as an example of a sanctuary that became the nucleus of an early city.[88] Sparta's founding myth has the city born out of sacrifice.[89] Sparta

[86] For example, of the early peak sanctuary great fires, Burkert says, "Connections with later Greek fire festivals come forcibly to mind". Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 27.

[87] Mumford. p. 18.

[88] Polignac. p. 68.

[89] Polignac. p. 68.

was originally composed of four townships: Limnai, Cynosoura, Mesoa, and Pitane, which were all clustered around a shared acropolis. **Figure 1.2** According to legend, people of the four towns came to blows during a sacrifice at the altar of the Temple of Diana Orthia. Following this sacrilege all four towns were struck with sickness. The solution according to the oracle was "to wet the altar with human blood".[90] The yearly sacrifice commemorating the consolidation of the four villages became a festival where the human sacrifice was replaced with "scourging the lads", a ritual involving flagellation.[91] Pausanias visiting in the second century B.C. noted that "the altar reek[ed] with human blood" from the flagellation portion of the festival.[92] A shared identity was derived from these rituals that pre-dated the city but continued after the establishment of a permanent settlement.

Ancient sanctuaries that did not develop into settlements often played a role in defining territorial boundaries and distances in the ancient world. According to de Polignac, the non-urban sanctuary, often located at a city's territorial boundary, played a key role in the hoplite wars.[93] These wars were one of the key events that led to the eventual creation of the *polis*. The hoplite system coincided with

> *the agrarian crisis, the evolving notion of territory leading to a new concept of frontiers, the establishment of the aristocratic phalanx, synoecism, and the birth of the city as a social organization.*[94]

The ancient Greek city's territory or *chora* was often defined by natural boundaries like the peaks on which many archaic sanctuaries sat.

Like the revelation of a cult site, the correct site for the establishment of a new town was also "revealed" to the founder and was "a direct and arbitrary gift of the

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[90] Pausanias, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, trans. by James George Frazer (London: Macmillan, 1898), I. Volume I, Book 3, 16, 7, p. 159.

[91] Pausanias, I. Volume I, Book 3, 16, 7, p. 159.

[92] Pausanias, I. Volume I, Book 3, 16, 7, p. 159.

[93] Polignac. p. 68.

[94] Polignac. p. 59.

gods".[95] In order to assure the correct identification of the site favoured by the gods, every new town founding venture began with a visit to the Delphic oracle. Several stories of hero-founders visiting the oracle for advice have survived. On the founding myths of Syracuse and Croton, Strabo records the respective hero-founders visiting the oracle on the question of site.[96] Likewise, Myscellus, founder of Sybaris, also sought the oracle's advice.[97] Myscellus, having difficulty locating the site proclaimed by the oracle, and upon finding it, doubting its suitability, returned to the oracle for a second time before proceeding with the town-founding. Thucydides also reports that the first step in town founding is a visit to the oracle. On the Spartan founding of Heraclea in Trachis, Thucydides says, "First of all they consulted the god at Delphi, and, when they had received a favourable reply, they sent out settlers".[98]

In addition to the correct site, the foundation of a new city required a hero-founder. The leader, or *oecist*, of any town-founding expedition was buried within the city centre, and he was "paid the honours of a hero" upon his death.[99] The adoption of a hero-founder, whether mythical or historical, was practised in cities that evolved over time as well. Examples of the hero-founder influencing development of the later city and community are clear in the monumentalisation of a 'hero-grave' in Eretria and the importance of hero-founder Theseus in Athens' development. **Figures 1.3: a, b & 1.4:6, 7** At Eretria an archaic hērōon burial that predated the city was monumentalised with walls and a paved plaza before being incorporated into the city gates of Eretria. The adopted 'hero-founder' lent added protection of to the city's sacred boundary. Burials within the city walls were discouraged, so the burial of a founder within the city walls at the centre of the city indicated the importance

[95] Rykwert. p. 33.

[96] Strabo, *Geography, Volume III Books 6-7.*, Loeb Classical Library ; LCL182 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924). Book 6, I, 7, p. 29.

[97] Strabo, *Geography, Volume III Books 6-7.* Book 6, I, 12, p. 43.

[98] Thucydides. Book III, 92.

[99] Rykwert. p. 33.

of the hero-founder to the entire community. The future fate of the city rested upon the preservation of the hero-founder, as "only the tomb of the hero-founder could guarantee that the city lived".[100]

Eretria also holds another archaeological example of allegory being adopted and incorporated into a sacred form type in the transition from hearth to hearth house to temple. **Figure 1.5** As Indra McEwen interprets Vitruvius, "people… were first drawn together by fire".[101] In the private house as well as in the city, the

> *hearth marks the center of the human dwelling…Fixed in the ground, the circular hearth is the navel that ties the house to the earth. It is symbol and pledge of the fixity, immutability, and permanence.*[102]

This gathering point naturally became the place around which political communities took shape. The public hearth in the *agora* was "the place where people assembled to agoreuein – to speak to one another".[103] The architectural forms that eventually developed to host the gathering of people retained a central point around which the gatherers arrayed.

Hestia was the goddess who watched over the hearths of both the public and private realms. Euripides (c.480 – 406 B.C.) said of Hestia, "the sages call the Earth-Mother Hestia because she remains motionless at the center of the earth".[104] The communal hearth dedicated to Hestia served as a centring element in the Greek city. Hestia was often associated with ideas of centre and stability, both as the deity of hearths and as the goddess of the earth. Plato's understanding in the early fifth century B.C. was that Hestia was responsible for staying at the centre (balance) of

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[100] Rykwert. p. 35.

[101] Indra Kagis McEwen, *Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: MIT Press, 1993). p. 113.

[102] McEwen. p. 158.

[103] McEwen. p. 113.

[104] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*.

the gods' house (universe).[105] According to Vernant, the hearth centred the emerging mental organisation of space in archaic Greece;

> *an examination of the various institutions whose very function refers explicitly to the hearth and the religious values it represents has shown that this set of institutional practices, gravitating around the hearth established as a fixed center, expresses one aspect of the archaic experience of space in ancient Greece. TO the extent that these practices constitute a well-regulated and orderly system of conduct, they imply a mental organization of space.*[106]

Hestia's circular hearth provided the connection from the city to the earth and from the earth to the gods above. **Figure 1.6** Vernant describes the role of the hearth in the archaic Greek understanding of space;

> *The circular hearth welded to the ground is in the centre of a rectangular space bounded by four columns. These reach to the roof of the house where they enclose an open lantern through which the smoke escapes. When incense is burned, or when, during a mean, the portion of food dedicated to the gods is consumed by the flames of the fire lit on her domestic altar, Hestia sends the family offerings up to the dwelling place of the Olympian gods, contact between earth and the heavens is established through her in the same way as she acts as a passageway to the internal regions.*[107]

The hearth house form that would develop gives architectural evidence to this mental organisation of space.

As well as political life, private life was also centred around and governed by the home hearth. The rituals surrounding the hearth fire defined the family and identity within the family structure. The family feast of Amphidromia was the first ritual a Greek participated in. During the Amphidromia, a new-born was taken in a circle around the hearth before being laid on the ground before the hearth so that "the motion of the child in a closed circle around the fixed hearth begins, and direct

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[105] "For Hestia abides alone in the gods' dwelling-place" Plato, *Plato's Phaedrus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1952). p. 70.

[106] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*.

[107] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 160.

contact with the floor of the house completes, the baby's integration into the domestic space".[108] In Greek myth, the connection to the divine that Hestia and the hearth provided could be harnessed to provide immortality for an infant. In the myth of Demeter and Demophon, Demeter hides the baby Demophon in the flames of the hearth fire at the end of the Amphidromia ritual rather than laying him on the ground.[109] The act of laying the baby in the fire results in immortality.[110] Just as life began at the hearth fire for the Greeks, it also ended at the hearth fire. The dead were hidden either in the fire or in the ground.[111] The only time the family hearth fire was extinguished was upon the death of a member of the household. The entire household, both the physical building and the members of the household, had to be ritually cleaned before the fire could be relit.

In addition to life and death, the hearth also had the power of reintegration. If one had left the family or the city and needed to be become part of the community again, the hearth was at the centre of the ritual required. According to Vernant, after travelling abroad "contact with the hearth assumes the value of deconsecration and reintegration into family space".[112] The hearth fire defined an individual's place within both private and public realms and provided continuity for the entire household/city. In the private house, a god's portion of every meal was entrusted to Hestia through the hearth fire to ensure the gods' blessing upon the household in a smaller-scale version of the sacrifice and feasting carried out at urban festivals like the Panathenaia. In times of plenty, hearth rituals begged the continued prosperity of the household, and in times of famine, the hearth played a role in connecting earthly pleas to the ear of Olympus.

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[108] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 186.

[109] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. pp. 186-187.

[110] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. pp. 186-187.

[111] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 187.

[112] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. pp. 173-174.

The Chaironeian ritual for expelling hunger began with the beating of a slave at the hearth before the slave was pushed over the threshold of the dwelling – symbolising the wealth kept on the inside and hunger expelled to the perilous exterior. The King Archon also practiced this ritual on a public scale at the city's hearth.[113] The King Archon was the annually elected magistrate of religious life who led public rituals in Athens. He was also second in command within the city government.[114] It is possible that, like the Chaironeian did, other private hearth rituals had public counterparts that played out in the civic realm of the city.

Just as the home hearth was the gravitational centre of private life, the city's hearth was the heart of the city. According to Rykwert, "the hearth of any city had a claim to being considered its primary altar, the birthplace of its identity and the spring of its religious life. This view was shared by both Greeks and Romans".[115] Like many Greek cities, Rome also kept a city hearth fire. Rome's hearth fire burned for more than a thousand years, carrying on the legacy of the grounded and centred city. From its location at the centre of the city, the communal hearth gave order and protection. A central location gave the important hearth insulation from the conflict outside the boundaries of the city. In new settlements, the city hearth was created as part of the public town founding ritual. The hearths of both Athens and Rome were located in areas dedicated to communal ritual that predated the city.

In addition to the draw of the hearth, hero-tombs and cult sites were also points around which people assembled. According to Rykwert, "the assembly of the primitive *agora*, in the sense in which the word signifies the men and not the place, was often in early literature attracted to a pre-existing tomb".[116] Like the hērōon site did at Eretria, pre-existing tombs and early cult sites were often used as anchors

[113] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. p. 191.

[114] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 53.

[115] Rykwert. pp. 102-103.

[116] Rykwert. p. 35.

for the spaces that hosted communal gatherings during the early development of ancient Greek cities. These same sites continued to influence the physical gathering places of the public realm, like *agorae*, as they became more formalised.

Recurring rituals – sacrifices and the feasts that followed them – also drew Athenians to the *agora*. Sacrificial feasting marked many events in the lives of ancient Greeks and Romans –from the very public, city-wide festival to events of a more private nature, including the marriage ceremony.[117] Sacrifice and the accompanying feasting formed an important part of sacred life and interaction with the gods in the ancient world. Sacrifice was necessary in establishing order;

> *the order of life, a social order, is constituted in the sacrifice through irrevocable acts; religion and everyday existence interpenetrate so completely that every community, every order must be founded through a sacrifice.*[118]

Sacrifice also reinforced 'community, koinonia' and "from a psychological and ethological viewpoint, it is the communally enacted aggression and shared guilt which creates solidarity".[119] *Koinonia* refers to communal participation and the share one has in the collective. Even the sacrificial ritual celebrated an ancient and common history — the time of cultural advancement when Prometheus' gifts of meat and fire led to the civilisation of man. At the end of the sacrificial ritual, the meat was typically shared amongst the participants and eaten on site, connecting the participants to each other and to a long history dating back to Prometheus.

The feasting that followed large-scale sacrifices was accommodated throughout the city but left very few archaeological traces despite the importance of the ritual. There is evidence of the Dipylon Gate's courtyard, located just over a kilometre

[117] Burkert, *Greek Religion*.

[118] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 59.

[119] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 58.

away from the *agora*, being used for feasting during the Panathenaic Festival. **Figure 1.24** Postholes found in the excavation of the Dipylon Courtyard and the adjacent Pompeion Plaza were likely anchors for tents set up during the Panathenaic Festival and provided a place "where the Athenians feasted on the meat from the great sacrifice to Athena".[120] These tents may also have served as accommodation for those who normally resided outside the city. While the exact time of day of most of the events of the festival unknown, the torch race is known to have occurred at night.[121] This race, and possibly other events, would have made travel to and from the city to participate in the day's events difficult to do each day.

Evidence of postholes for wooden bleachers or *ikria* have also been found in the *agora* of Athens itself, as well as in Metapontum and Corinth.[122] In addition to the temples and altars, the open, public space of the *agora* had a central role to play in communal rituals. These bleachers would have been perfect viewing platforms for the Panathenaic Procession and torch race that both crossed the *agora*, and the bleachers may also have been used as seating for the feasting that followed the

[120] Ursula Knigge, *The Athenian Kerameikos : History, Monuments, Excavations* (Athens: Krene, 1991). pp. 68-69.

[121] Panathenaic Programme reconstruction by Neils based upon the inscription IG II 2311:

Day 1	Musical and Rhapsodic Contests
Day 2	Athletic Contests for Boys and Youths
Day 3	Athletic Contests for Men
Day 4	Equestrian Contests
Day 5	Tribal Contests
Day 6	Torch Race and Pannychis
	Procession and Sacrifice
Day 7	Apobates
	Boat Race
Day 8	Awarding of Prizes
	Feasting and Celebrations

Neils and Hood Museum of Art.

[122] Mary B. Hollinshead, *Shaping Ceremony: Monumental Steps and Greek Architecture*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (University of Wisconsin Press, 2015). p. 9.

sacrifices on the acropolis above. The spatial limitations of the acropolis and the distance of the Dipylon Gate combined with the established association of the *agora* with communal dining made the *agora* the perfect place for overflow dining during major sacrificial festivals like the Panathenaia. The temporary bandstands, many *stoae*, and the stone stairs on the western edge of the *agora* would all have provided space for diners.

Myths and rituals helped to give a shared identity and overcome separations based upon family and other traditional ties to create a new community that would work for all. An appropriate architectural setting for the new system was now needed. Just as the Theseus myth was used to lend validity to historical changes, early cult sites and assembly points would be used to reinforce the boundaries of the new civic spaces.

Development of the Public Realm

Cities generally evolved gradually out of smaller settlements, but some were willed – like colonies and those founded by Alexander the Great.[123] It is more difficult to separate fact from fiction when examining cities that grew up over a long history like Athens than those founded at a single moment in time. The question of what originally drew a settlement to the site can be hard to answer, particularly if the original attraction left behind no traces. It is also important to examine the voids in the architectural evidence. A void in the fabric of a city can indicate lack of use, but it can also indicate a purpose so important that it was kept free for recurring ritual activity. The voids in the built fabric of the Athenian *agora*, when examined with knowledge of their later ritual use and their connections to the cities' founding myths, would seem to be of the category of ritual use rather than disuse. The question of why a settlement began can be answered in part by studying the

[123] The founding of some twenty cities are attributed to Alexander the Great.

architectural progression of the public areas of these "gradual" or "situational" cities.

The city of Athens developed around its acropolis – an easily defensible high ground to which people could retreat at times of attack – and a flat gathering place below, its agora. It was not until defensive walls were erected around the town that the acropolis' main function transitioned from defence to religion.[124] First came necessity, then with stability and stronger defences came an increased focus on building to an ideal form. The public realm of Athens, particularly the *agora* where the *polloi* assembled, developed over time and retained many echoes of past ritual activity.

The *agora* was the civic centre of the ancient Greek city and housed those functions essential to the running of the city, like the assembly space, the central hearth, and the justice courts. The *agora* hosted rituals that were participated in by the entire *polis* and of shared importance to the entire community. The architectural development of the *agora* reflected the history, beliefs, and resulting ritual action of the Athenian people. The average user would have been aware of much of the historical context and shared ritual present in the *agora*. For example, even before the paving of the Panathenaic Way, the ritual use of the route that led to the acropolis would have been known by all Athenians.

The *agora* was, in its simplest form, a gathering place for communal use – "a large open square used for public functions".[125] Large numbers of citizens could easily congregate for assemblies, elections, festivals, athletic contests, parades, markets, and more. Administrative, legislative, judicial, commercial, social, religious, and many other activities all convened in and around the *agora*. Public buildings followed the crowd and were built around the square where people so often came

[124] Zucker. p. 27.

[125] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 14.

together. The form types of Bouleuterion, Tholos, law court, and *stoa* that would accommodate these activities followed. As Colin Renfrew states, "If Athens was the heart of the Greece…the Agora was the effective focal centre of Athens".[126]

The earliest archaeological evidence of habitation in Athens is on the slopes just south of the *agora.* On these slopes were Neolithic wells dug to access the Klepsydra spring.[127] The only Neolithic evidence of use within the *agora* itself includes one burial and one well.[128] **Figure 1.7** The lack of further evidence of habitation suggests that Neolithic Athenians were close by, perhaps in the caves on the slope of the acropolis, but they were likely not living directly on the site that would later become Athens' *agora*. As a convenient flat site with access to the settlements on the nearby acropolis and its slopes, the lack of domestic architecture on the site of the *agora* may suggest communal use from as early as the Neolithic period. The routes used in later rituals, like the Panathenaia, may have been in use from this earliest period of habitation.

The area of the *agora* appears to have been abandoned from 3000 to 2000 B.C. before evidence of use reappears in the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1600 B.C.). The archaeological evidence suggests less contact with the outside world during this period than was seen in the early Neolithic period.[129] Around 1600 B.C. contact appears to have resumed and the influence of Mycenaean culture from Crete was felt architecturally in burials and in the building of a fortified palace on the acropolis in Athens.[130] The fortified palace corroborates the kingship in the Theseus origin myth. While traces of the original citadel palace on the acropolis have disappeared, archaeological finds of fortifications and terrace walls along with storage pits and

[126] Colin Renfrew, 'Introduction' in Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 7.

[127] These were dated through pottery remains recovered in the wells. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 24.

[128] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 24.

[129] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. pp. 20, 23.

[130] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 20.

wells to the south confirm the acropolis as the site of Athens' first citadel settlement.[131] The literary evidence also confirms the acropolis as the founding place of Athens, with Thucydides saying, "what is now the Acropolis was the city, together with the region at the foot of the Acropolis toward the south".[132] The founding myth of Theseus, as previously discussed, confirms the acropolis as the starting point. In the myth, Theseus unified all of the independent small towns and built the first communal town council chamber and meeting hall in the upper city of Athens.[133]

Finds in the *agora* from the Middle Bronze Age include five wells and Middle Helladic pottery whose distribution suggests "general occupation or use of the area".[134] The wells of the Middle Bronze Age are clustered in the same area as those of the Neolithic – at the southeast corner of the *agora* at the access point to the acropolis above. At this point in Athens' history, the *agora* was used mostly for burials.[135] **Figure 1.7** While none of the Mycenaean tombs on the *agora* are of the royal *tholos* type, several contained rich grave goods, indicating a prosperous city.[136]

The fall of the palace-centred system of city-state came to Athens as it did the rest of Greece. From the Dark Ages between 1100 and 750 B.C., there was almost no foreign contact and no monumental building activity.[137] While there is little evidence of international trade, there is evidence of housing in the *agora* between 1000 and 600 B.C.[138] The sheer number of wells found from this period would

[131] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 25.

[132] Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War. Book II. 15.3

[133] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*. Theseus, Book XXIV, p. 53.

[134] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 25.

[135] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. pp. 25-26.

[136] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 27.

[137] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 20.

[138] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 24.

suggest that these wells lay at the centre of private houses. The combination of extensive offerings found at the sanctuary of the rain god Zeus Ombrios (Showery) and the simultaneous abandonment of almost all of the private wells in the *agora* suggests a period of drought around 700 B.C.[139]

Over time, buildings dedicated to Athena Polias, patron goddess of the city of Athens, and the other gods overtook the acropolis site of Athens' original founding. When the acropolis was physically transitioned from fortress to sacred centre, the protective qualities of the fortress were metaphysically transferred to the patron god now inhabiting the acropolis.[140] According to Rykwert,

> *The divine protector or protectress was a part of an elaborate metaphysical defensive apparatus. Some defences were physical: the earthworks and the ditches. Others, such as the formulae and the rites and the apotropaic monuments had a magical function. But all these protective aids, whether physical or magical, were always part of a bigger unity: and the unity was a social and religious (not a magical) phenomenon. Its aim was not just to conserve, but to nourish and to fortify. Even the magical apotopos was a function of the greater whole, of the town as a machine for thinking with, as an instrument of the understanding of the world and the human predicament in it.*[141]

The 'protective aids' that included festivals like the Panathenaia contributed to the city's purpose in furthering the common good.

Archaic routes like the one connecting the *agora* and the acropolis and cult sites shaped the architectural definition of the *agora* considerably. The edges and entry points of the *agora* were probably all defined by ritual use – processions and votive offerings – before any structures were erected. Examining the earliest known structures on the *agora* shows this clear progression from ritual activity to form. The first, clear archaeological evidence "for a regular place of worship" in the area

[139] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. pp. 33-34.

[140] The Greeks believed that temples were the home of the god or goddess they served.

[141] Rykwert. p. 162.

of the *agora* dates to the middle seventh century.[142] Deposits of votive objects were found at the foot of the *areopagus*,[143] at the south edge of the *agora*. As has been discussed, the earliest Greek cult sites often left little or no evidence to be found. As the site of the *agora* was in use since the Neolithic Period and the southwest quadrant of the site since as early as the Protogeometric Period, the deposits may simply be the first evidence of a site that had an even longer sacred history. The sacred deposits correspond with the first public building on the site, an early Bouleuterion or Senate House, and the first stone shrine – the triangular crossroad shrine. The appearance of the deposits and the early Council House may mark a natural progression in the community – from scattered enclaves to settlement and from places of worship marked by ritual use to those marked by manmade structures.

Bouleuterion Complex

The southwest corner of the *agora* that would become the location of Athens' Bouleuterion was historically dedicated to sacred use with evidence of ceremonial burial plots and an archaic triangle sanctuary. There is ceramic evidence in the area possibly from the Protogeometric/Neolithic period.[144] But the first period in which the evidence is considerable enough to suggest habitation is the Middle Heraldic Period.[145] The earliest evidence of a structure on the site is a narrow building divided into several rooms – some of which were likely open yards and some of which were likely roofed.[146] The east line of the building follows that of the roadway, suggesting the roadway that would continue to define the *agora* was already in use at this time. The complex included a house, an adjacent cemetery,

[142] Homer A. Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 6.1 (1937), 1–226. p. 3.

[143] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 3.

[144] Homer A. Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors', *Hesperia Supplements*, 4 (1940). p. 3.

[145] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 3.

[146] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 4.

and a potter's studio.[147] In the second room from the west, clear evidence of a kiln has been found. The complex has been dated to the period between the late eighth century B.C. and the early seventh century B.C.[148] The site appears to have been abandoned, with the exception of possible remains of a house, for around a hundred years.[149]

The next building complex to occupy the site dates to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.[150] **Figure 1.8: a** This complex was constructed of acropolis limestone and had floors surfaced with brown clay.[151] It has tentatively been identified as an early incarnation of the Bouleuterion,[152] making it the first civic building on the *agora* site. The Bouleuterion complex would continue to serve as the centre of civic dealings for Athens for centuries to come with three hundred senators meeting there each day. The number of chamber graves from the Neolithic and Mycenaean Periods and the cemetery at the site's southwest corner may have contributed to the site's selection for the Bouleuterion. Every town needed a hero founder at its centre, or the tomb of a warrior or demi-god of some status if there was no founder, and Theseus' shrine and grave were not established until his bones were returned in 480 B.C.

It is unknown if any part of the early complex was roofed, although Homer Thompson suggests some parts of the complex were open and some roofed.[153] The largest central space would have been difficult to roof using the techniques available, particularly without leaving evidence of intermediary postholes. So, it can be assumed that the central court was uncovered. This courtyard space with its

[147] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. pp. 3-8.

[148] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 7.

[149] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 8.

[150] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 11.

[151] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. pp. 9, 12.

[152] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 9.

[153] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 4.

cooking pits and kitchens to one side and council house to the other was an indispensable mixing space for those charged with the business of running the city. The exact location of the eating space for the Boule during the first iterations of the Bouleuterion has yet to be identified. The seating and lounging furniture was probably wooden, making identifying the dining space unlikely. The location of the three-sided court – with access to the cooking facilities, adjacent to the Bouleuterion entrance, and with an excellent view of any activities in the *agora* makes the court a perfect candidate for the dining space. After Cleisthenes increased the number of tribes in 508 B.C., the Prytaneis numbered fifty at any given time. Examining the area of the early Bouleuterion courtyard shows that the Prytaneis could comfortably gather in the space.[154]

The southwest corner, where an early apsidal temple and Bouleuterion complex were built, continued to develop. **Figure 1.8: a, b, c** The distinctive, round *tholos* that was the final form of the Prytaneion or town hall was built in c. 470-460 B.C.[155] **Figure 1.9** Ancient authors confirm the perfect circle as the closest approximation of the divine possible on earth. Plato suggests that a circular city would be ideal as it would most closely represent the true order of the *cosmos* as described by Anaximander, but he also admits that such a city would have been extremely impractical and even laughable to actually build.[156] Plato's mention of a circular city has its roots in myths that would have been common knowledge for an educated Hellene. At least two great cities of Greek myth had circular plans. Both the ancient Athenian city of Hesiod's mythical age of gold and the lost island city of Atlantis were circular cities.

[154] This number was determined by using a maximum standing density of two people per square metre with a standing density of one person per square metre being a more comfortable figure.

[155] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 76.

[156] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*.

Camp calls the *tholos* the "heart of the Athenian democracy, where common citizens were always on duty serving as senators".[157] The *tholos* of Athens was central to both the political and sacred functions in the ancient city. The *tholos* was the headquarters of the executive committee where at least seventeen senators were on-duty at all times in case of an emergency, maintaining constant vigilance over the safety of the *polis*. A number of dishes marked delta/epsilon, which is graffito for *demosion* meaning public property, were found at the *tholos*. These dishes indicate the *tholos* was the communal dining space of the Athenian Senators.[158] The hearth of the city, the altar to Hestia with its eternal flame, was also located in the *tholos*.

Each of the successive civic buildings on the site continued to align with the route along the western side of the *agora*, with the crossroads influencing two sides of the site. **Figure 1.8: a, b, c** Thompson argues that the *tholos*' predecessors all performed the same functions:[159]

> *There can be equally little doubt that these archaic buildings were the predecessors of the Tholos not only in situation but also in function. In the study of the Tholos that follows we shall note several indications of continuity: the original enclosure wall of the Tholos followed the limits of the archaic complex, as they were immediately before the erection of the Tholos (p. 85); the structure that may safely be regarded as the kitchen of the Tholos was placed directly above the archaic broiling-pits (p. 73); the cult place associated with the Tholos immediately overlay a probable cult place of the older establishment.*[160]

During the building of the *tholos* a round *poros* monument appears to have been modified to keep it in service during construction. The monument's heavy construction and the effort taken to keep the monument accessible during and

[157] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 94.

[158] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 95.

[159] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 43.

[160] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 42.

after the building of the *tholos* suggest that the monument may have been an altar. From this, Thompson extrapolates that there was an active cult in the *tholos*' area at the time of its construction.[161] Its adjacency to the *poros* monument and the slight separation from the more mundane service buildings suggest that Building I was the cult chapel for the early Bouleuterion complex.[162] **Figure 1.8** The *poros* monument could even have been an early statue of Hestia and the original hearth of the shared site of the archaic *agora*.

The symbolic importance of the site made it an auspicious site on which to build the centre that hosted the civic heart of Athens. The plan of the *tholos*, in turn, echoed the earlier structure of the apsidal temple. The apsidal temple was, in turn, derived from the communal hearth house, and may have served as an early communal hearth and sanctuary, as was the case at Eretria. **Figure 1.5** The *tholos* refined the earlier incarnations of the communal centre into the purest geometric representation of the values of the *polis*, but the southwest corner of the *agora* shows evidence of having been the symbolic heart of Athens from its earliest days as a settlement.

According to Vernant, the *tholos* building form was, "the sole example of the circular form in Greek religious architecture".[163] While the form of the roof of the *tholos* cannot be determined, a central oculus is likely.[164] **Figure 1.9** An oculus would have served the functional role of chimney, while also leaving open the symbolic access point to the heavens. The *tholos* was simply constructed "with little evidence of architectural embellishment".[165] Instead of lavish decoration, the distinctive form of the *tholos* announced the building's importance within the

[161] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 40.

[162] Thompson, 'The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors'. p. 42.

[163] Vernant, *Myth and Thought Among the Greeks*. pp. 179-180.

[164] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 77.

[165] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 77.

Athenian *polis*. The form of the *tholos* echoes the symbolic order of the *polis* system. In the *tholos* Senators would sit around the edges of the circle to eat together. Like medieval myths of King Arthur suggest of the round table, the round shape of the *tholos* allowed all diners to have a seat of equal importance with no individual occupying a central position. In addition to the equalising nature of the *tholos'* form, it also had symbolic ties to a shared history that predated the city. The echoes of the hearth house can be seen in the circular form, the definition of the centre, and the relegation of men to the periphery and the gods to the centre. The *tholos* form illustrates the prevailing understanding of man and his place in the world, and can be read as a metamorphosis of the same elements that were required to form a community, and from it, a city. The communal hearth of the *tholos* connected the earthly world to the world of the gods above and the ancestors below, as well as giving its earthly users an equal place.

Early Cult Sites

Just to the north of the Bouleuterion complex is evidence of an apsidal plan temple from around the middle sixth century B.C.[166] **Figure 1.13** Centred in the apse was a *poros* block that was probably the base for a cult statue.[167] From the partial clay mold found in a nearby casting pit that would be "appropriate for an archaic Apollo" and the fact that a Temple to Apollo Patroos occupied the site in the fourth century B.C., archaeologists theorise that the sixth-century, apsidal temple was dedicated to Apollo.[168] Like later temples, the apsidal temple faced east.[169] **Figure 1.14** The apsidal plan temple was probably descended from the hearth house that served as a communal meeting place before the advent of the *polis*.

[166] R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1978). p. 30.

[167] R. E. Wycherley. p. 30.

[168] R. E. Wycherley. p. 30.

[169] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 79.

The oldest cult site in the *agora* area that made the transition from votive deposits to stone structure was the triangular shrine that defined the crossroads at the southwest entry to the *agora*. **Figures 1.10, 1.11** The polygonal, masonry walls of the shrine and a boundary stone reading "boundary of the shrine" date to the fifth century B.C., but the offerings found in the enclosure suggest that the cult dates back to at least the seventh century B.C.[170] The only clue to the dedication of the shrine is the inscription 'TO HIERO'.[171] No historic references to the shrine or offerings found at the shrine have given any indication of its dedication. The shrine, despite being dedicated to an unidentified hero, continued to be maintained through the Roman Period. **Figure 1.15** The form of the shrine was never changed or elaborated upon despite its nine or more centuries of use. The early offerings and the continuity of the shrine suggest that the triangle sanctuary was built over a pre-settlement site. The lack of an identifiable dedication in this instance would support a pre-settlement, and pre-Olympian, deity. Like the hērōon site at Eretria, the triangular hero shrine stands guard over a crossing or entry point along a sacred boundary.

Another early cult site to an unidentified deity or hero was discovered just west of the Panathenaic Way. The Eschara was marked with a stone-lined chamber that contained offerings that date from the seventh to fifth centuries B.C.[172] Gerald Lalonde describes the shrine as "an elaborately constructed votive pit" that is probably a "hero shrine" built in connection with one or more of the tombs.[173] **Figures 1.10, 1.11**

The area at the northwest boundary of the *agora* was also defined by an early cult site. The area would later come to be known as the Herms due to the number of

[170] Camp, *Gods and Heroes in the Athenian Agora*. p. 28.

[171] Gerald V. Lalonde, 'A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 49.1 (1980), 97–105. p. 97.

[172] Camp, *Gods and Heroes in the Athenian Agora*. p. 28.

[173] Lalonde. p. 97.

herms erected in the area. **Figure 1.16** Hermes, god of boundaries, gets his name from *herma* or the heaps of stones "set up as an elementary form of demarcation".[174] Wooden, phallic figures were placed on top of the stone cairns. Eventually, Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos, introduced stone versions around 520 B.C.[175] The stone *herms* were used to mark the midpoints between Attic villages and the Athenian *agora*.[176] The form was soon in widespread use with each Athenian neighbourhood having its own *herm*.[177] Vase paintings show that "private sacrificial festivals often took place at these herms".[178] Burkert calls it "astounding" that this type of primitive monument "could be transformed into an Olympian god".[179] In narrative poetry Hermes is known as "the widespread figure of the trickster who is responsible for founding civilization".[180] Hermes' transformation from primitive cairn marker to anthropomorphic god follows the same pattern many of the pre-settlement cult sites do – from simply marked sites the cults could grow to monumental sanctuaries with all of the necessary cult icons and festivals. Hermes' transition highlights the importance of boundaries in defining the ancient Greek world – the keeper of boundaries was elevated to Olympic status.

The location of the altar of Aphrodite Ourania at the later Herms and its relationship to the crossroads of the Panathenaic Way suggest that the site was the location for a pre-settlement cult. The small, rectangular altar located at the northwest corner of the *agora* was built sometime between 490-500 B.C.[181] **Figure 1.16** The sides of the altar were of white marble imported from one of the Cycladic Islands. The use of imported marble indicates the value of the altar, as well as helping to confirm its

[174] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 156.

[175] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 156.

[176] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 156.

[177] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 156.

[178] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 156.

[179] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 156.

[180] Burkert, *Greek Religion*. p. 156.

[181] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 57.

dating. Around 490 B.C. marble from the nearby Mount Pentele began to be used extensively, putting the altar's date of construction before 490 B.C.[182] Pottery found both at the exterior of the altar's base and inside the base itself suggest a date of c. 500 B.C.[183] The altar continued in use through the Roman Period when a temple was added to the sanctuary. The altar aligns both with the crossroads sanctuary and the north-south route along the western side of the *agora*. **Figure 1.16** A later monumental gate was added to the southeast of the altar, further defining the northwest entry point to the *agora*.

Several early cult sites also marked the crossroad of the Panathenaic Way and the Street of the Great Drain. **Figure 1.16** The square crossroads shrine at the northwest corner of the *agora* was an *abaton*, or not to be entered by men.[184] The square shrine was surrounded by chest high walls that allowed worshippers to look in and to throw in offerings but not enter.[185] In the centre of the crossroads enclosure was an outcrop of bedrock on which offerings of pottery were broken.[186] None of the ceramic finds, which date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., carry any clue as to the deity of the crossroads shrine.[187] The stone at the centre and the lack of a named deity suggest that the crossroads shrine could be one of the simply-marked, archaic cult sites, even if the official enclosure may be of a later date. The location of the cult site at the access point or boundary to the area of the *agora* would support this theory.

Another of the early monuments that defined the *agora*'s shape was the Altar of the Twelve Gods. The altar was erected by the younger Peisistratos, son of the

[182] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 57.

[183] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 57.

[184] Camp, *Gods and Heroes in the Athenian Agora*. p. 27.

[185] Camp, *Gods and Heroes in the Athenian Agora*. p. 27.

[186] Camp, *Gods and Heroes in the Athenian Agora*. p. 27.

[187] Camp, *Gods and Heroes in the Athenian Agora*. p. 27.

tyrant Peisistratos, when he held the position of Archon in 521 B.C.[188] The altar's identity is verified by the statue base found on the west side of the fence foundation that reads, "Leagros son of Glaukon dedicated this to the Twelve Gods".[189] The altar sits in the centre of a square enclosure of stone posts but was open to the elements. The largest altar in the *agora,* it was dedicated to the twelve Olympian gods. The altar defined the centre of the *agora* and marked the point where the Panathenaic procession turned from its journey through the city to the sacred acropolis above. **Figures 1.11 - 1.15** The slight skew to the altar's orientation within the context of the other structures on the *agora* and its relation to the sacred route suggest that the altar was responding to a pre-existing cult site. The Altar of the Twelve Gods was used as the centre of Athens when recording distances on milestones.[190] A milestone from c. 400 B.C. and the ancient author Herodotus both confirm that the Altar of the Twelve Gods was the cartographical centre of Athens and Attica.[191] Not only did the Altar of the Twelve Gods serve as the geo-physical centre of the city, the lyrical poet Pindar also referred to it as the navel of the city, giving the altar a significant symbolic and sacred meaning as well;

> *haste to the dance and send your glorious favour, ye Olympian gods, who, in holy Athens, are marching to the densely crowded incense-breathing centre [navel] of the city* [192]

The navel of the world, considered by the ancient Greeks to be in Delphi, was one of the holiest sites in the ancient world. Pindar's reference to the *agora* as the navel of Athens shows how the *agora* with its communal hearth was both the figural heart of Athens and the physical centre of the city for the purpose of civic and public works.

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[188] R. E. Wycherley. p. 33.

[189] R. E. Wycherley. p. 33.

[190] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 42.

[191] Herodotus, Marincola, and Selincourt. 2, 7, p. 88.

[192] Pindar, *The Odes of Pindar, Including the Principal Fragments*, Second edition revised and reprinted.. (London, 1957). Fr. 75, p. 553.

The shrines at the entry points to the *agora* were of particular importance both in defining the *agora*'s development and in the *agora*'s later use. **Figures 1.10-1.14** The importance of these human scale cult sites may be under appreciated due to their inconspicuous nature when compared to the monumental buildings on the acropolis above. Like the site of the *tholos*, these smaller-scale sites often had long histories as cult centres, and their influence upon the public realm can be clearly traced in the city's plan. Some of the earliest public monuments on the *agora*, the Old Bouleuterion and the Altar of the Twelve Gods, correspond directly to sacred routes that must have already been in use. Boundaries and points of entrance, whether physical or symbolic, were important in defining the ancient city for its users.

With the exception of the Altar to Aphrodite Ourania, the oldest shrines on the *agora* were dedicated to deities or heroes whose identities were unknown or have been lost to history. Not only were these shrines the oldest evidence of communal, sacred activity on the *agora*, they also defined the boundaries of the later civic space. The evidence of continued use and their preservation even as the *agora* became increasingly more crowded with buildings suggest that they were of shared importance to the community.

Thoroughfares

The boundaries of the *agora* were defined over time by access routes connecting the city's gates and its sacred spaces. In particular, the Panathenaic Way that gave access to the acropolis appears to have been in use since the area was settled. The road that connected the Dipylon Gate and the acropolis "must always have cut diagonally across the market square".[193] **Figure 1.10** At the entrance to the open area of the *agora*, the route from the Dipylon Gate formed a triple fork. These three routes defined the shape of the final civic square. Wilhelm Dörpfeld first excavated

[193] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 4.

the diagonal fork, identified as the Panathenaic Way, in the 1890s.[194] As previously discussed, the route from the Piraeus Gate that ran along the west side of the *agora* and connected the Piraeus Gate to the Panathenaic Way was also in use before the first civic buildings were built on the *agora*. **Figure 1.8** Of the road running north-south along the western edge of the *agora*, Thompson says,

> *The lowest hard packed road metal is to be dated, from the pottery found in it, as early as the eighth century B.C. and it is clear that from this time onward the roadway carried continuous and heavy traffic.*[195]

These routes that gave definition to the *agora* were also important in the overall plan of the city. Both routes crossed the width of the city and connected the *agora* with city gates and its *chora*, whose importance in the development of the community of Athens has already been discussed.

The access paths to localised shrines, and early incarnations of the shrines discussed, also gave early definition to the *agora*. The access route that connected the early potter's building complex, apsidal temple, and early Bouleuterion with the wider Greek world via the Piraeus Gate shaped the southwest corner of the *agora*. The routes that had defined the area from the earliest building campaigns continued to give shape to the classical *agora*. The buildings followed the routes and were configured around the open space, forming a theatre-like enclosure. The architectural edges of the *agora* became more defined and unified through the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. **Figures 1.10 – 1.13** Despite the increasingly crowded nature of the *agora*, the two main routes that connected the acropolis, *agora*, *chora*, and wider world remained in use and clear of building activity until the Middle Stoa was built in the mid-second century B.C. **Figure 1.14** It was only in the first century A.D. that the first structures encroached upon an area that had remained open since the Neolithic Period with the addition of the Roman odeon. **Figure 1.15** According to T. Leslie Shear Jr., the Roman encroachment was,

[194] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 4.

[195] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 5.

as clear a statement of the new ordering of the world as can be made through the medium of architecture. A conquered city had little need for democratic assemblies and a subject citizen little voice in the determinations of his destiny…it is almost as if…the builders of the new era seem determined to obliterate that symbol of Athenian democracy, the market square itself, in order to reflect the vanished reality.[196]

Public Infrastructure

The last half of the sixth century B.C. saw the first recognisable civic buildings built on the *agora*. The building activity continued to leave the centre of the *agora* open and followed the pattern already begun by the early cult sites. **Figures 1.12-1.13** The area of the *agora* seems to have been cleared for public use around the time of Solon, sometime in the early sixth century B.C.[197] The limits and shape of the *agora* were already defined in part by existing streets and cult sites. Archaeological evidence dates the Southeast Fountainhouse, the levelling of the *agora*, and the building of the Great Drain and its tributaries to sometime between the end of the third or the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.[198]

A stone drainage channel was built to provide an outlet for waste from the fountainhouse as well as runoff from the surrounding hillsides.[199] The channel, known as the Great Drain, runs north-south along the west side of the *agora*, with tributary channels running away from the *agora* to the southwest and connecting the fountain house in the *agora*'s southeast corner. The levelling of the area of the *agora* was accomplished at the same time the drain system was built, and the

[196] T. Leslie Shear Jr., 'Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 50.4 (1981), 356–77. p. 361.

[197] R. E. Wycherley. p. 27.

[198] "The style of the polygonal masonry employed in the original line of the Great Drain, combined with the evidence of pottery gathered from several exploratory trenches cut across its line, indicates that the drain is to be dated toward the end of the third or the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century. The same date may therefore be accepted with assurance for the fountain house and the levelling of the square." in Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 4.

[199] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 3.

ground on either side of the main drainage channel was raised by as much as two metres in the southeast quadrant to achieve an appropriate gradient for water flow.[200] Infrastructure like the Great Drain was an important part of the public realm, even if it was unseen. The building of the Great Drain was a large-scale public works project requiring the agreement and cooperation of many to benefit all who used the city.

Homer Thompson argues that the main north-south line of the Great Drain

> *fixed the orientation of the public and sacred buildings that were subsequently to spring up along the west side of the square as also of the innumerable monuments that eventually formed a continuous row on either side of it.*[201]

While the correlation of the line of the Great Drain and the buildings along the west side of the *agora* is marked, Thompson fails to account for the route that followed this line before the construction of the drain. While the earlier street may have lacked the rigid straightness of the purpose-built Great Drain line, the route was certainly in use. The cult shrines that were already in use in the area including the unidentified cult at the Old Bouleuterion and the triangle shrine bracketed the route running north-south and suggest that the drain followed the line of the street that was already in use. **Figure 1.8** So it was the existing route rather than the drain that originally set the line of the *agora*'s west side.

The Southeast Fountainhouse "seems to have fixed for all time the line of the southern limit of the market square",[202] although the early cult site at the foot of the *areopagus* had begun this definition. **Figures 1.10, 1.12** The Southeast Fountain House was a social gathering place for all residents of the *polis*, even for slaves. In

[200] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 4.

[201] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 3.

[202] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 3.

his Lysistrata,[203] Aristophanes describes a diverse and crowded scene at the Southeast Fountain House voiced by a chorus of women,

> *Are we too late?*
>
> *It's early in the day,*
>
> *But at the spring*
>
> *We suffered great delay*
>
> *…*
>
> *The jostling slaves,*
>
> *The crash as pitchers fall,*
>
> *The crush, the noise –*
>
> *It's no damn fun at all.*[204]

So, both the west and south sides of the *agora* that had previously been defined by ritual routes and cult sites were now defined architecturally by the Great Drain and the Southeast Fountainhouse.

Law Courts

Justice was crucial to the functioning of the city and the maintenance of the public good. This makes the setting for justice of interest in understanding the development of the city's public realm. Along with the many cult sites found on the *agora*, justice was also carried out in the *agora*. The law courts of Athens were located on the *agora,* and larger trials were carried out *en plein air,* in full view of spectators. The most prominent of the judicial buildings, the law courts, bracketed both the north and south sides of the *agora*. **Figure 1.14** The court to the south was built around 550 B.C. in an almost square form measuring twenty-seven metres by

[203] At its heart the Lysistrata is an argument (made mostly by the women of Athens but joined in part by their Spartan counterparts) for bringing peace to the city of Athens.

[204] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata and Other Plays*, Penguin Classics, Revised edition.. (London, England: Penguin Books, 2002). pp. 324-331.

thirty-one metres with no internal divisions.[205] The second, larger law court on the *agora*'s northeast corner was built in ca. 300 B.C.[206] only to be replaced by the Stoa of Attalos a century and a half later. **Figure 1.14** Like the south law court, the new larger court was also a square inner-peristyle structure measuring 58.8 metres by 58.8 metres.[207] This second iteration was an idealised version of the first – it was an exact square both inside and out and perfectly symmetrical unlike the south court with its unbalanced west side and rectangular courtyard. The peristyle court form allowed the jurors to stand around the roofed edges of the square, surrounding the proceedings in the centre on all sides. Those involved in the trial stood in the open central courtyard, on display to both the jurors and the gods above. Following the open pattern of justice established by Athena, the court's form allowed all jurors a clear line of sight to those involved in the trial and each other.

In addition to the official law courts, a set of stone seats set into the hillside at the western edge of the *agora* may have been used as an open-air, overflow courtroom. The stone seats could seat upwards of 200 people,[208] and while the seats were probably used as an overflow law court, they were primarily known as a meeting place. Depending on the type of trial, there could be anywhere from a few hundred to several thousand jurors participating. Justice could require the participation of a large part of the city.

In addition to those citizens serving on the jury, other citizens and members of the Athenian public would have gathered in the *agora* to witness the proceedings. The trial of Socrates is a known example of an ancient Athenian trial. All of the proceedings surrounding the trial from the trial itself to trial related announcements to Socrates' place of imprisonment while awaiting trial were

[205] John M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. pp. 46-47.

[206] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 167.

[207] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 167.

[208] This number was determined by using a maximum seating density of two people per square metre with a seating density of one person per square metre being a more comfortable figure.

located on the *agora*. Justice, like many of the other civic systems in ancient Athens, was a public affair. The settings for all of the city's services were likewise open and visible, from the *agora* to the theatre to the altars for sacrifices. The physical setting for the act of justice in the Greek city was open, visible, exposed, centred, and stage-like.

Stoae

By the second century A.D., the Athenian *agora* would be almost entirely lined by *stoae*, with the first *stoa*, the Royal Stoa, appearing c. 525 B.C. **Figures 1.13-1.14** The sixth century B.C. political innovations of Greece required new forms to host the activities of the new system, from the meeting of the assembly to the holding of trials, and the *stoa* form emerged to meet these needs. The development of the *stoa* as a building type should be considered within its context, both the architectural context and the political and cultural context. As an independent building type, the *stoa* originated with the ancient Greeks in the late seventh century B.C.,[209] and its adaptable form served the *polis* as everything from classroom to market. A number of theories concerning the origin of the uniquely Greek *stoa* form have been postulated. To the existing body of options can be added two options that derive directly from the previous discussion on the situational development of the Athenian *agora*. A brief discussion of these origin theories is important to understand the situation in which the form developed, even if there is insufficient evidence to support any of these theories conclusively. With a basic understanding of the general characteristics that developed in the *stoa* form, more specific examples can be analysed in detail. The *stoae* of the *agora* will provide these concrete examples.

[209] "The earliest date to which one can trace back the unbroken development of the stoa is the late seventh century" in J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976). p. 18.

What were the needs that the *stoa* form answered? To understand the system that required the *stoa*, a brief look at the politics developed in and alongside the *stoa* is essential. According to the Stoics, the new democratic *polis* system required an informed citizenry. Vogt attributes two main concerns to the early Stoics: first "that the cosmos is the common home of all human beings, and thus like a city" and second "that, in order to truly live by the law of this cosmic city and thus be its citizen, one must be wise".[210]

Vogt argues that when the Stoics discussed the cosmic city, they discussed the *cosmos*: "their cosmic city *is* the cosmos".[211] This equation of the city with the *cosmos* allows the Stoics to understand a variety of truths;

> *the cosmos is a city insofar as it is regulated by law. Second, it 'consists of' its citizens; the cosmos is sustained by those of its parts that have perfect reason, and is in this sense a city of sages and gods. Third, it is a habitation—it is the place in which all human beings jointly live. And fourth, it exhibits the characteristic structure of a city: there are rulers and ruled, gods and human beings.*[212]

According to Vogt,

> *The Stoics regard the cosmic city as the only real city, and the law that pervades the cosmos as the only real law. Nature is the place of law, and it is so insofar as it (or: the universe) is a city. Actual (in the sense of: ordinary) cities and their laws are dismissed. But the idea is not that we should leave these cities and live as expatriate-cosmopolitanists. Rather, the idea is to recognize that actual cities do not ultimately 'live-up' to being cities; actual laws are not real laws, and actual cities are not real cities.*[213]

Unlike Plato's vision of the ideal city, that 'could' and 'should' be built, the Stoics differentiate between the ideal city (the *cosmos*) and the reality of an earthly city,

[210] Vogt.

[211] Vogt.

[212] Vogt.

[213] Vogt.

which will never truly live under the only law the Stoics acknowledge, common law or the common good.

The Stoic's view of his fellow man was intrinsically linked to the political duties of a citizen, duties that could be performed from the *stoa*. For the Stoics, the common good was of the utmost concern, and

> *the Stoics ask us to see all human beings as 'belonging to us' in a political sense—a sense that explains the kinship of all human beings as a relationship of being each other's fellow-inhabitants in one polis, the cosmos.*[214]

The common good and the fate of those with whom one shared the *cosmic* city had to be of utmost concern to the individual, and as Vogt contends "the early Stoics argue that a perfect life is a life that recognizes the concerns of all human beings as relevant to one's own actions".[215] In order to understand all human beings one had to, as Aristotle first argued, observe them. This observation and understanding in aid of the common good was carried out, according to Alberto Perez-Gomez, in the public space of the Greek *polis*, "the site where I find myself and recognize my place through the eyes of the Other".[216] One must imagine these Stoic ideals developing in the Painted Stoa, from which the Stoics took their name.

Before discussing any specific examples, some general characteristics that define the *stoa* form should be understood. **Figure 1.17** In plan, the *stoa* is typically a linear building that has a very clear 'front' and 'back'. The width is generally one-third of the length. The 'front' is left open, with a minimum of enclosure, and the 'back' is typically solid, with no perforations. The *stoa* form is typically raised slightly above the ground level with a few shallow stairs. The open 'front' and raised platform allowed the *stoa* to become a stage facing the public realm – whether it was the

[214] Vogt.

[215] Vogt.

[216] Alberto Pérez Gómez, 'Architecture and Public Space', in *Rites of Way: The Politics and Poetics of Public Space* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press). p. 48.

realm of the street or that of a plaza like the *agora*. And the observation could also be reversed – the open, raised front could also serve as a bandstand from which to watch the activities on the *agora*. Standing along the front was a line of columns, like citizens "who were assembled to stand in *isonomia* around the power located *en meson*" or assembled to govern in unison around the power shared in the middle.[217] The transparent and stage-like nature of the *stoa* building type allowed it to fulfil the need for a neutral meeting ground that had developed with Solon's reforms. To the front of longer *stoae* there was often a paved terrace "which served as a promenade and viewpoint for processions in the agora".[218]

There are several Greek and imported options for architectural predecessors or influencers of the *stoa* building type. Attached or non-independent colonnades are an obvious place to look for the predecessors of the *stoa*. Examples of colonnades that predate the development of the *stoa* form can be found in archaic Greece. The colonnades of Mycenaean palace courtyards have been considered as possible forerunners of the *stoa*. J. J. Coulton offers colonnades at the palaces at Mallia and Tiryns as possible antecedents of the Hellenistic *stoa*, as well as a market building found at Aghia Triadha.[219] The colonnaded courts of the Mycenaean palaces could have been carried down in domestic architecture, but there are simply no traces to be found in the archaeological record. Without concrete evidence, the question of whether or not there is a connection between the Mycenaean palace colonnade and the development of the *stoa* cannot be answered conclusively.

The use of monumental colonnades is well documented in the Eastern Mediterranean, and there is evidence of significant contact between the East and Greece during the time in which the earliest *stoae* begin to appear. Coulton

[217] McEwen here is referring to temples but as the temple as a predecessor for the stoa has already been discussed, the metaphor can be stretched to the development of the stoa. McEwen. p. 119.

[218] R. E. Wycherley. p. 227, Footnote 8.

[219] Coulton. pp. 18-19.

considers possible Eastern antecedents to the *stoa* in the temples and hypostyle halls of Egypt, the use of columns at the monuments at Deir el-Bahri, and the *bit-hilani* or palaces of Syria.[220] Like the colonnade seen at Tiryns, the porticoes at Zincirli in Syria were an element of the palace rather than a separate entity and were often built against existing fortification walls, again like those at Tiryns.[221] Coulton concludes, and rightly so, that Eastern influences are less likely than those from within Greece;

> *the most likely sources of external influence on Greek architecture [therefore] reveals no buildings more directly comparable to the Greek stoa than those of the Aegean Bronze Age.*[222]

Another Greek option for the *stoa*'s antecedent is the portico of a temple if it were detached from the *cella*. **Figure 1.17** There are two main arguments in favour of the *stoa* from temple portico progression. First, the narrowness of early *stoae* is similar to that of a temple portico, and second, there seems to be preference for shed roofs in both early *stoae* and temple porticoes.[223] However, these could both be attributed to a lack of experience in roofing large spans.[224] Gabriel Leroux takes the temple predecessor argument one step farther, suggesting that the *stoa* had the same origins as the temple and both arose from the most important early civic building, the *megaron*, the great hall of early palace complexes. Leroux offers the interesting, albeit somewhat farfetched origin theory that the *stoa* developed from a *megaron* in which a linear wall had been removed and replaced with columns.[225] **Figure 1.17** Both the *megaron* and its successor the temple could have anterior columns like *stoae*. While the sacred functions of the *megaron* and the temple add

[220] Coulton. pp. 19-20.

[221] Coulton. p. 20.

[222] Coulton. p. 21.

[223] Coulton. p. 21.

[224] Coulton. p. 21.

[225] Gabriel Leroux, Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle en Grèce, en Orient et chez les romains (Paris : Fontemoing, 1913) <http://archive.org/details/lesoriginesdel00lerouoft>.

to the connection between these successive building forms, the *stoa* answered a specific political need that antedates the *megaron* by several centuries. The secularisation of this important public building form would also be in keeping with contemporary transitions like that of the *tholos* developing from the hearth house. Coulton disagrees with the *megaron* transition theory and concludes that "the most that the Bronze Age in the Aegean is likely to have contributed to the inspiration of the stoa is therefore a tradition of external colonnades".[226]

This is not to say that previous architectural forms did not influence the form of the *stoa*, as the architectural past is inescapable. While the origins of the *stoa* may never be completely uncovered, and most likely developed from multiple sources in a non-linear fashion, what is clear is the independent *stoa* is an entirely Greek form – both in its form and its function. As R. E. Wycherley states, "the stoa is an artistic form created by Greek inventive genius out of simple elements to satisfy real needs".[227]

To these theories on the potential influencers of the *stoa* form can be added one more – the first civic structures built on the Athenian *agora*. Both the early Bouleuterion complex and the Southeast Fountainhouse include some of the building elements and functions that made the later *stoa* form so distinctive. The similarities of these two predecessors to the later *stoae* that surround the *agora* is only in their parts, but as a clear and direct predecessor to the *stoa* form has yet to be uncovered, they must be added to the list of influences.

Throughout the progression of the Bouleuterion complex at the southwest corner of the *agora*, a central courtyard that faces both the street and the two buildings in the complex is maintained. **Figure 1.8** Diagrammatically, the complex, particularly

[226] Coulton. p. 19.

[227] R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities*, Norton Library, 2nd edn (New York: Norton, 1976). p. 111.

the three-sided court, shares similarities with the *stoa*. **Figure 1.18** In terms of function, this space hosted many of the same activities as the later *stoae* – meetings, communal dining, oration, and observation.

In addition to the view of the overall *agora*, the space also had an overview of the busy southwest entrance to the *agora* – through which any foreign visitors would have approached from the Piraeus. The court overlooked the activity of the *agora*, but still maintained enough spatial separation to allow for business and important conversations between Senators to be undertaken. Deals could be struck semi-privately without fear of being overheard and semi-publicly in view of the main civic space and the citizens within. In this way, the function of the court bears remarkable similarities to a *stoa*.

The New Bouleuterion was built around 415-406 B.C.[228] at the back of the Bouleuterion complex, changing the nature of the open court. The dining functions and the unofficial social functions hosted by the complex were necessary to the education and awareness required of citizens in the *polis* system. The function of this central court now had to be accommodated elsewhere on the *agora*. And it was – by *stoae*. The South Stoa I, built between 430 and 420 B.C.,[229] is lined with chambers at the back which each have an off-centre doorway. **Figure 1.21** The design of these chambers, with their off-centre entrances, accommodated the reclining benches that the Greeks used for dining.[230] The original excavators suggested that the *stoa* was used as the official dining hall for members of the Boule and the Archons, as both were known to be fed at public expense.[231] An inscription found at the South Stoa I site included a list of the incoming board of the Metroon with the five *metronomoi* and their two secretaries would bear out the

[228] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 90.

[229] The building is dated through ceramic fragments found at the foundation level. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 122.

[230] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. pp. 123, 125.

[231] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 125.

theory that the dining rooms of the South Stoa I were for public officials.[232] Each dining chamber was designed to hold seven couches – the exact number of men listed.

The second building that shows some similarities to the *stoae* that would later ring the entire a*gora* is the Southeast Fountainhouse. Along with the Great Drain and the paving of the Panathenaic Way, the building of the Southeast Fountainhouse was one of the first public works projects undertaken on the *agora.* **Figure 1.12** Unlike the Bouleuterion complex, the function of the fountainhouse differs significantly from that of the *stoa*, but in plan there are marked similarities. Both are linear with a colonnade at the front and a solid wall to the back. Like the Stoa of Zeus built 100 years after the fountainhouse, the fountainhouse also includes 'turns' at the termination of its ends. **Figure 1.20** The users of the fountainhouse are those very people that the early Stoics would encourage citizens and thinking men to know and understand. As the earlier Aristophanes' quotation shows, the fountainhouse hosted a slice of the Athenian demographic from women to slaves.[233] While Coulton does not mention the Southeast Fountainhouse in his *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, he does include the fountainhouse at Tenos in his listing of "stoas with wings" *stoae* types.[234] **Figure 1.20** Since the Southeast Fountainhouse predates the Hellenistic fountainhouse at Tenos and dates perhaps 75 years after the early version of a *stoa* at Samos, **Figure 1.19** it should be added to the list of possible influencers of the final *stoa* form.

Early examples of *stoae* include the colonnaded front added to an existing building at the shrine to Hera at Samos and the Stoa of the Athenians from Delphi dated to the early fifth century B.C.[235] **Figure 1.19** R.E. Wycherly attributes the *stoa*'s

[232] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 125.

[233] Aristophanes. pp. 324-331.

[234] Coulton. pp. 84, 196.

[235] Wycherley. p. 111.

"prominence" in Greek cities to its suitability for the climate and its adaptability in terms of suiting multiple uses.[236] While both of these are true, the *stoa* form's connection to the *polis* system is deeper and more essential than Wycherly implies. The *stoa* is one of the more literal translations of the new system of government. The *stoa* served as a neutral and public meeting place for citizens to perform their duty of participation in public affairs. In order to fulfil their duties, citizens had to be educated on the issues facing the *polis*. This need dictated a building type that was transparent and free from associations with the pre-*polis* society. The building could not be dedicated to any other purpose as the need for constant participation demanded a space that could accommodate spontaneous and instantaneous meetings. There was also a need in the newly organised tribal system for a meeting space that was not historically associated with any particular class or profession. The *stoa* hosted the many meetings essential to the running of the official bodies like the Assembly and Law Courts. As well as providing a public meeting space, the *stoa* also provided an informal classroom where young men could learn their duties as citizens.

The now reconstructed Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian *agora* is a good example of a standard *stoa* form. **Figure 1.21** In addition to the Stoa of Attalos, the Athenian *agora* provided a number of other examples of the *stoa* building type. As well as the Painted Stoa and the Stoa of Zeus, which will both be discussed in detail below, the South Stoa I, the Middle Stoa, the Stoa of Attalos, and the South Stoa II, which replaced the South Stoa I, were all built on the *agora*. **Figures 1.21, 1.14**

Poikile Stoa

The first *stoa* to be built on the Athenian *agora* was the Painted or Poikile Stoa, which from ceramic fragments found during the excavations, is dated to 475-50

[236] Wycherley. p. 111.

B.C.[237] **Figures 1.22, 1.14** The *stoa* was originally known as the Peisianaktios for Peisinax, the man who built it.[238] Peisinax may have been the brother-in-law of general and statesman Kimon and grandson-in-law of Miltiadse, the general responsible for winning the famous Battle of Marathon.[239] The well-placed and well-respected Kimon was responsible for returning the bones of Theseus to Athens.[240] The *stoa* was renamed after a large series of decorative paintings were added to its back wall, and its official name appeared in inscriptions from the fourth century B.C. as the Poikile Stoa, or painted *stoa*.[241] Peisinax did not build the *stoa* for the gods or for a specific activity related to governing of the city. Instead it served the needs of the populace at large as a shaded meeting place. In addition to philosophers, one might find sword swallowers, jugglers, beggars, parasites, and fishmongers selling their wares in the Painted Stoa.[242] The *stoa* was purely civic – for the citizen body.

The siting of the Painted Stoa on the north edge of the *agora* reinforces its dedication to the people. The south-facing Painted Stoa sits at the highest point of the *agora* with an ideal view along the Panathenaic Way towards the acropolis above. **Figure 1.14** While the site of the *stoa* was clearly chosen to take advantage of a prominent location on the *agora*, the siting appears to be primarily concerned with views of the civic activity in the space rather than any pre-existing cult site or religious ritual. Rather than aligning with the adjacent archaic altar or any pre-existing monument or route on the site, the *stoa* instead seems to take its orientation from the open space of the *agora*, the symbolic and physical centre of city. **Figure 1.22** The steps of the Painted Stoa were the ideal point to stand for a

[237] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 66.

[238] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 69.

[239] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 66.

[240] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 66.

[241] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 69.

[242] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 72.

wide-angle view of the entire *agora* and the activities happening both within the *agora* and on the acropolis. As the *stoa* is located at the northwest entrance to the *agora* and opposite the southeast and southwest entrances, it also provides a view of all those who entered the sacred boundary of the *agora*. Even the minor northeast entrance can be surveyed due to the *stoa*'s angle.

The south facing 'front' of the *stoa* and the solid north 'back' allowed the *stoa* to take advantage of the low angles of the winter sun while blocking winds from the north. In the summer months, the depth of the *stoa* allowed a portion of the interior to remain in shade throughout the day. **Figure 1.22** The three shallow stairs, when coupled with the slope away from the building, formed a natural classroom setting, allowing a lecturer to address students seated on the tiered stairs above. Each stair block comfortably seated between five and six people, and the length of the building could have accommodated between 118 and 156 spectators during rituals like the Panathenaic Procession.[243] Standing at the top of the *agora* in the Painted Stoa, the Stoics who taught there had an overview of the *agora* of Athens with all of its myriad political, social, and commercial activities. Representatives of every level of Athenian society, from slaves at the fountainhouse to members of the Boule gathering at the *tholos* could be observed interacting in the public realm, in the closest approximation to the cosmic city.

While the full length of the Painted Stoa cannot be excavated due to its position under the modern railway line, using the excavated width of 12.5 metres, a length of approximately 36 metres can be supposed.[244] The detailing on the *stoa* is meticulous, to the point that Camp describes it as "well designed, carefully built, and one of the more lavish secular buildings in Athens".[245] A variety of limestone

[243] Seating capacity was calculated using a minimum of eighteen inches per person and a more comfortable twenty-four inch allowance per seated individual to arrive at a figure of either five or six persons. A double row of seating was assumed for large-scale spectator events.

[244] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 66.

[245] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 66.

was used on both the exterior and interior.[246] The interior, Ionic column capitals were carved of marble.[247] Each of the blocks used to construct the stairs was cut to the exact same length with alternate joints aligning precisely with the centre of a Doric column above.[248] Each stair block is cut to a length of three Athenian feet or approximately three metres and is joined to its neighbour by leaded-in, iron T-clamps.[249] The consistency seen in the individual parts of the Painted Stoa begins to suggest modularity – the quarry and stonemason team that produced these elements could easily have produced blocks for a series of *stoae*. With these interchangeable building blocks, the contextual situation of the *stoa*'s site appears to have less influence on the design than it did on previous structures built on the *agora*. Like the Stoics, the *stoa* begins to make a distinction between the embodied and the more abstract, or the embedded sacred situation upon which the city had been built and the increasingly important role of the informed, transferable citizen body as the city. The *stoa* responds to its context and its climate but is more concerned with the earthly cosmic city than the *cosmos*.

Stoa of Zeus

The Stoa of Zeus, like so many other early civic buildings along the west side of the *agora*, was built over the foundations of an earlier structure.[250] **Figure 1.23** Just to the northwest of the *stoa* is a stone base set into the bedrock that may have been associated with the earlier structure. The base contains a circular sinking that could have served as the base to a monument.[251] From these remains, Thompson concludes that the site was host to

[246] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 66.

[247] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 66.

[248] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 66.

[249] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. pp. 66, 69.

[250] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 8.

[251] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 8.

> *something more than a private habitation. The carefully prepared stele bedding would seem rather to have been intended for a dedication, public or sacred. The large rectangular base may appropriately have held a statue, conceivably the statue of a divinity that dominated this tiny sanctuary.*[252]

A possible candidate for the altar of this tiny sanctuary was found approximately twenty-five metres to the east. The altar measured approximately 3.65 metres by 1.22 metres.[253] A layer of burnt material contributes to the structure's identification as an archaic altar.[254]

The activities hosted in the Stoa of Zeus differed somewhat from those seen in the Painted Stoa. The archaeological evidence on the interior of the *stoa* would seem to bear out these functional differences. The Stoa of Zeus, built in the decade from 430-420 B.C.,[255] is considered by Wycherley to be the "prototype" of the *stoa* type that included gabled, projecting wings at each end.[256] **Figure 1.20** From the foundations and fragments, the plan of the *stoa* has been reconstructed to measure 45 metres long by 12 metres wide, with the gabled ends measuring 18 metres.[257] As was often the case in *stoae*, the interior column spacing is wider than at the façade. **Figure 1.23** On the interior there is evidence of benches just inside the walls.[258] The unusual addition of benches differentiates the *stoa* from the standard, open interior layout.

Stoae were remarkably adaptable, and the Stoa of Zeus is an excellent example of the adaptability of the form. The *stoa* sat on a pre-existing cult site and was dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios (Freedom) whose cult was founded after the end of

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[252] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. pp. 8, 10.

[253] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. pp. 10-11.

[254] Thompson, 'Buildings on the West Side of the Agora'. p. 11.

[255] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 106.

[256] Wycherley. p. 113.

[257] Wycherley. p. 113.

[258] Wycherley. p. 113.

the Persian wars in 479 B.C.[259] The location of the *stoa* amongst the primary civic buildings of the west side of the *agora* led Camp to nominate it as a possible Thesmotheteion or offices of the assistants to the Archon. This was where the six *thesmothetai* or judicial archons met for both business and likely dining. If this was indeed the office of the *thesmothetai*, there would have been a requirement for more permanent furnishings than the wooden stools that might be seen in other *stoae*. An identification as the Thesmotheteion would explain the evidence of permanent seating. Citizens, including Socrates, also used the Stoa of Zeus as a meeting place.[260] Due to its size when compared with the Painted Stoa, the meetings held here were likely more intimate than the large-scale 'classes' possible at the Painted Stoa. The meetings here may also have been more formal and were perhaps even scheduled, at least when the judicial archons were in session at their duties. The Stoa of Zeus, like many of the buildings on the *agora*, mixed civic and sacred duties, housing a cult and serving as a meeting place, an office, and a state dining room.

According to Wycherley, the Stoa of Zeus "represents the ideal form of a single independent stoa and stands at the head of a whole series".[261] Beyond this, the Stoa of Zeus marks a pivotal moment in the development of the public realm, both for the Greeks and for those that followed. The Stoa of Zeus is clearly tied to its situation – its physical setting, its embodied sacred history, its use as the seat of the King Archon. However, the Stoa of Zeus stands at the head of a long line of *stoae* that served the many civic needs of Greek cities. Most *stoae* built after this served the city in a less specific role and in a more general and more public sense. From the Stoa of Zeus onwards, a "balancing wings" scheme was used in myriad *stoae*, entrance porticoes, and even in the *paraskenia* wings used in stage-building in the

[259] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 106.

[260] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 107.

[261] Wycherley. p. 114.

theatre.[262] Among the *stoae* that follow in the footsteps of the Stoa of Zeus are a late fourth century B.C. *stoa* in the *agora* of Thasos, the fourth century *stoa* of Philip at Megalopolis, and the third century B.C. *stoa* of Antigonous at Delos.[263] **Figure 1.20** Despite its original situational development, the Stoa of Zeus marks the beginning of a civic architecture that was dedicated entirely to the service of the *polis*. The architectural edge of almost the entire *agora*, like the early Bouleteurion's courtyard space, would eventually be made up of transitional public space in the form of *stoae*. **Figure 1.14**

Despite being an "all-purpose building",[264] the *stoa* was one of the form types that was key to the functioning of the Greek political system and the Greek city. When discussing the architecture of the city, "the Athenian orators constantly include the stoas among the glories of the city".[265] For example, when listing the masterpieces of Athens, Greek orator Demosthenes (384 – 322 B.C.) includes the *stoae* with the acropolis, the Propylaea, the Parthenon, and the ship-sheds of Piraeus;

> *[76] He did not understand that the people have never been eager to acquire wealth but rather to acquire fame above anything else. Here is a proof: when the people had the most money of the Greeks, they spent it all on the pursuit of honor. When they paid the tax from their private property, they shunned no danger in their pursuit of fame. What they acquired from this effort is everlasting, both the memory of their deeds and the beauty of the dedications set up to commemorate them: the Propylaea, the Parthenon, the stoas, the shipsheds. Not two little jars, or even three or four gold ones, each weighing a few pounds, which you will propose to melt down whenever you see fit![266]*

For the Greeks glorification of the people, unity within the city, and the enhancement of the public realm were all linked, so public funds were willingly

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[262] Wycherley. p. 114.

[263] Wycherley. pp. 114-115.

[264] Wycherley. p. 110.

[265] Wycherley. p. 110.

[266] *Demosthenes, Speeches 20-22*, trans. by Edward M. Harris, The Oratory of Classical Greece (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008). XXII, 76-77, p. 196.

spent on public works. The features Demosthenes mentions are those that contributed the most to the public system of Athens, but Demosthenes still considers these 'masterpieces' rather than 'required'. However, this list with its all-purpose *stoae* and functional grain houses alludes to the coming Roman system. With the Romans will come a formula of public features required for a city to be worthy of the title.

Boundary Stones

The boundary stones of the *agora*, setup around 500 B.C., count among the earliest examples of built definition of the overall space. The entrances to the *agora* were also marked with basins of holy water or *perirrhanteria* that, in addition to the boundary stones, reminded entrants that they were entering the sanctity of the *agora*.[267] Entering the *agora* was akin to entering into a contract to uphold the common good and abide by the city's rules of justice. According to Aeschines, writing in the fourth century B.C., lawbreakers, like prostitutes, must not enter the sacred boundary of the *agora* – they must "not pass within the containers of sprinkling water".[268] Demosthenes, also writing in the fourth century B.C., agreed;

> *Surely those who are traitors to the commonwealth, those who mistreat their parents, and those who do not have clean hands, do wrong by entering the Agora.*[269]

At a time when there was nearly constant conflict, whether between city-states or with the Persian Empire, maintaining and marking boundaries provided order within the city. Boundaries separated the living from the dead, the public from the private, the citizen from the non-citizen, and more. Maintaining unbroken rituals, particularly those that contributed to the shared good, aided in the maintenance of

[267] Gates. p. 230.

[268] Aeschines, *Aeschines*, Oratory of Classical Greece ; v. 3 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000). p. 31.

[269] Camp, *The Athenian Agora*. p. 51. Demosthenes 24.60.

urban order. The need for rituals that marked time and renewal can be seen from before the first permanent settlements in the repeated use of archaic, hilltop sanctuaries. The need for boundaries and the maintenance of rituals manifest themselves in the definition of the *agora*, whose boundaries and entrances were developed by ritual action.

The impact of recurring ritual on the development and later the symbolic maintenance of urban form occurred at many scales in the ancient city. McEwen provides a remarkably poetic description of the role played by communal ritual and sanctuaries at the Greek city's edge, writing that to

> *extrapolate from de Polignac's argument the notion of a polis allowed to appear as a surface woven by the activity of its inhabitants: the sequential building of sanctuaries over a period of time, which at times stretched over decades, and the subsequent ritual processions from center to urban limit to territorial limit and back again, in what can be seen as a kind of Ariadne's dance, magnified to cover a territory that was not called choros but chora.*[270]

Greece's tribal social structure and naturally divisive topography could have been barriers to the formation of the *polis* system. However, for the Hellenes, communal ritual and new forms of civic architecture that brought awareness of society as a whole reinforced the communal identity required for the formation of the *polis*. Both the citizen body and the boundaries of the public realm were first secured through rituals and were then formalised with monuments and finally maintained by festivals. The development of the *agora* was directly derived from its situation; topography, archaic cult sites, ritual routes, communal rituals and gatherings, and mythical hero-founders all left their mark on the city's fabric and consciousness. From this situational condition the forms of civic architecture that emerged were codified into types identifiable as 'public' and 'urban', or belonging to the city, that could be repeated at will.

[270] McEwen. p. 81.

The founding myths of Athens reflected the values of the city and gave a narrative to the architecture that developed. Athena and Theseus brought justice to the city, and from this narrative arose the symmetric, open, and centre-facing law court form. For the Athenians, the earth was at the centre of the *cosmos*, and the hearth was at the centre of human life. From these beliefs came the round Tholos form in which all members of the council had an equal seat but left the centre empty for the gods. As the *polis* developed with these values, the need for a form that was wholly of the world of man emerged. From this need for a place in which and from which man could observe and interact with his fellows came the stoa form. To be a part of Athenian urban life, active engagement was required, and Athenian urban forms were ideally suited to this need for participation in the public realm.

2. Rome

Contact with the Greek colonies along the Italian peninsula, as well as trade with the Greek mother cities, exposed the Romans to Greek urban forms and rituals. At the scale of the city, the Romans adopted several Greek traditions, particularly founding rituals and open civic spaces. From a city's beginning, the Romans also included a founder hero in a town's foundation myth. The Roman town founding included an adaptation of a Hellenic ritual that tied the new city to the mother city, although changed to fit the Roman definition of a new city. Like the Greeks, the Romans also used a neutral and shared ground for interactions between tribes, to which the Romans added the necessity for a secondary, informal gathering place. Within the city, the Romans embraced the Hellenic traditions of gridded streets, sacred *acropoleis*, and shared sanctuaries as urban nodes. At a smaller scale, the Romans also adapted a number of Greek form-types for their own use, including the *stoa*. These forms would eventually spread across the Roman world through colonial towns. The growth of Rome into an empire came with a need for systemised rituals and recognisably 'Roman' urban patterns that could be built to encourage the observation of these rituals.

Founding: Myth

Rome, like Athens, had several origin myths. Rome's founding myths reflected Greek ideals and even included a Greek hero-founder. In addition to celebrating Romulus as the founder of the city of Rome, Romans also associated the Trojan Aeneas with Rome's origins or more specifically with the origin of the Roman people. There was a strong cult of ancestors in Roman culture, making the story of the Roman race important in Roman identity. In a parallel to Theseus and Athena's gift of justice to the Athenian people, Rome learned the correct form of ritual from

a hero before the city's founding. Hercules is credited with showing the future Romans how to correctly perform a sacrifice. Just as justice remained a core value throughout ancient Athens' history, the correct performance of rituals was considered an essential Roman skill.

According to Roman myth, the twin grandsons of the deposed king of Alba Longa, a city to the north of Rome, Romulus and Remus were set adrift on the Tiber River in a basket. Instead of perishing, the twins ran aground at the Forum Boarium river crossing and were then rescued by a she-wolf and reared by a simple shepherd. The twins would go on to restore their grandfather to the throne of Alba Longa and found their own city, Rome. During the founding of their city, the twins disagreed on the interpretation of the auguries that would determine the city's location. In a Spartan parallel, the definition of the city of Rome also involved bloodshed. The disagreement between the brothers continued into the founding of the city, when Remus crossed the sacred furrow[271] that outlined Romulus' site choice – an act of blatant sacrilege for which Romulus killed his brother.[272]

The Roman historian Livy attributes this gory detail of the story to commoners, saying, "The commoner story is that Remus leaped over the new walls in mockery of his brother, whereupon Romulus in great anger slew him, and in menacing wise added these words withal, 'So perish whoever else shall leap over my walls!' ".[273] As the settlement outgrew its hilltop site(s), walls were required for protection. These walls were entirely manmade, unlike the natural topography that added divine blessing to the hilltop sanctuaries on which Greek cities often developed. However, the manmade walls were also considered to be under divine protection. Without strong walls, a city would be vulnerable to attack from outside. The shared belief in

[271] The founding of any Roman city involved defining the city's boundaries by plowing a furrow, as will be discussed further in the following section.

[272] Livy, *History of Rome, Volume I Books 1-2.* Book I, p. 25.

[273] Livy, History of Rome, Volume I Books 1-2. Book I, p. 25.

the sacred nature of Rome's walls generated a communal respect for the walls that in turn kept collective citizenry safe. The Romulus and Remus origin story reiterates the sacredness of the city's boundaries and the potential consequences of breaking the rules under which the common man lived in the city. Any common Roman would have known the story and would have known the landmarks within the city that played a role in it. **Figure 2.1**

In Rome's 'Greek' origin myth, Rome was settled by Trojans led by Aeneas after the fall of Troy. According to Roman poet Virgil, a branch of Aeneas' family was from Etruria, so Aeneas' resettlement in Italy was in fact a return to a homeland.[274] By making Aeneas and his followers related to the Etruscans, Virgil gives Aeneas' founding of Rome both legitimacy and a connection to the Hellenes. When Aeneas faces Latinus, King of the Latins, in battle on the Italian peninsula, Latinus foreshadows the future incorporation of the two peoples saying, "I have a soft spot for the whole Hellenic race".[275] Whether Greek or Etruscan, Aeneas' role in the founding of Rome shows that reconciliation between peoples is ingrained in the Roman narrative from its earliest days, as is a Greek-origin. Erich Gruen connects the 'tenacious' Greek thread in Roman founding narratives (which he argues may be an earlier myth that was incorporated into the Aeneas founding story) to Greek colonisation.[276]

In addition to his Greek ties, having Aeneas, the reputed son of Venus, as a hero-settler gave Romans claim to a divine ancestress. The Aeneas myth was most famously elaborated upon by Virgil in his *Aeneid* and monumentalised in architectural form in the Temple of Venus et Roma in A.D. 135, purportedly

[274]Aeneas claims kinship with the Arcadian King Evander through the hero Atlas, saying "our two families are both branches springing from the same original stock." Publius Maro Vergilius, The Aeneid, trans. by W. F. Jackson Knight, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England ; New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Pengui Books Ltd, 1984). Book VIII. pp. 204-205.

[275] Vergilius. Book VII.

[276] Erich S. Gruen, Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, v. 52 (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1992). pp. 8-9.

designed by the Emperor Hadrian himself. In addition to being monumentalised in temple form, the Aeneas origin myth also served a political purpose in the hands of Caesar and his successors of the *gens* Julia. Caesar claimed that the Julian family, like Aeneas, was descended from Venus and thus they were 'original' Romans, stressing a right to rule as well as the common history the Julia family shared with the city of Rome.

In addition to celebrating their Greek ancestry, Romans also prided themselves on their religion, particularly in the correctness of its rituals. In Roman myth, it was Hercules who taught the Romans the 'proper' form of sacrifice for honouring the gods when he showed them how to replace the human sacrifice of foreign visitors with non-human offerings.[277] An annual sacrifice to Hercules performed in the Forum Boarium area predates the city of Rome. According to Virgil, the annual sacrifice was in honour of Hercules' defeat of the cattle-stealing, man-beast Cacus on behalf of the leader of Aeneas' men, Evander. Searching for the entrance to the beast's lair, Hercules circled the Aventine Hill three times, eventually seizing Cacus and dragging it out into the open.[278] At the place where Hercules dragged Cacus to his final end, an altar was built that Evander refers to as their 'Greatest Altar'.[279]

Although Rome became the largest city the western world had ever known, the city was not so far removed from a time when cooperation between tribes and constantly-manned fortifications were crucial to the survival of a settlement. Founding myths continued to be important reminders of the need for cooperation in maintaining the city. Livy in his *History of Rome* argues that the remembrance of divine origin myths, even if fabricated, is a right the Romans have earned, writing,

[277] Scheid, 'The Festivals of the Forum Boarium Area: Reflections on the Construction of Complex Representations of Roman Identity'. p. 294.

[278] Vergilius. Book VIII. pp. 208-209.

[279] Vergilius. Book VIII. p. 209.

> *It is the privilege of antiquity to mingle divine things with human, and so to add dignity to the beginnings of cities; and if any people ought to be allowed to consecrate their origins and refer them to a divine source, so great is the military glory of the Roman People that when they profess that their Father and the Father of their Founder was none other than Mars, the nations of the earth may well submit to this also with as good a grace as they submit to Rome's dominion.*[280]

While Livy acknowledges doubt as to the validity of some of the origin myths he relates, he does not deny Rome or the Roman People's right to a shared identity with divine origins. Myths with such strength were remembered in the architecture of the city and continued to contribute to a collective identity throughout Rome's history. In addition to architectural reminders of Rome's beginnings, several yearly festivals also continued to celebrate Rome's origins.

Founding: Rituals

In order to understand the Roman city, the ritual process that resulted in the form must be examined. The founding of an ancient city included something old, something new, and something borrowed – anchoring the new settlement in the history of the mother city and giving the best chance for a prosperous future as well. The importance of the city to settlers' survival made the undertaking of founding a new settlement of supreme importance, and as such "founding a new town was analogous to, and a microcosm of, the supreme act of cosmogony – the foundation of the world".[281] Roman town-founding rites were most likely an amalgamation of existing Greek and Etruscan rites, as were so many other Roman customs.

[280] Livy, History of Rome, Volume I Books 1-2. Book I, p. 5.

[281] Lilley. p. 78.

The Roman town founding rite involved a pattern of "divination, limitation, relic-burial, orientation, and quartering".[282] The foundation rituals themselves could last several days,[283] just as a major festival might. Only after these prescribed steps were taken was

> *the new town … constituted. The new inhabitants had taken possession of the site and expelled such previous ghostly inhabitants as were unfriendly. They had given it a name and invoked a protecting deity, lit the fire on its hearth and set out the boundaries. All was done publicly.*[284]

Just as the town founding was a public ritual for the Romans, the Greek foundation rituals were also probably done publicly, particularly in the case of colonies, which were communal undertakings. While both traditions were observed publicly, the Romans broke with the Greek tradition of using a hero-founder, either historical or mythical, as the leader of town founding expeditions. Whereas the Greeks set great store by a founding hero, other than some association with the current General or Emperor, often one and the same, Roman town foundings were not based upon a hero cult. Instead the consistent form that resulted from the founding ritual gave the town its initial identity. An examination of the town founding rites will show how established forms of Roman urbanism were ritually transferred to new locales.

The first step in any founding was identifying an auspicious site. The locations chosen for the colonies of both the Greeks and Romans reflect the needs of the founders. The Greek colonies hugged the coastline, showing the importance of the coastal trade routes to the Hellenic way of life. The coastal locations may also have been chosen to avoid conflict with local, inland tribes.[285] A wide range of settlers founded new Hellenic towns. However, settlers were not drawn from the elite of

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[282] Rykwert. p. 72.

[283] Rykwert. p. 57.

[284] Rykwert. pp. 65-66.

[285] Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas, Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Supplementum, 193 (Leiden ; Boston, Mass: Brill, 2006).

the hoplite forces, as these men were needed at home. So, unlike many Roman settlers, Greek settlement parties were not overtly military in character. Roman colonial towns, on the other hand, often utilised overland trade routes and sites easily defended by legions on the ground. Roman new towns were often military camps or *castra*, associated with military camps, or military retirement centres with a standing force onsite from before the town's founding. Roman new towns, with a very few exceptions, served a military purpose.

While Roman towns were often founded by well organised military forces, the site was not determined definitively by practical concerns but required divine sanction. According to historian Fustel de Coulanges, "the choice of the site…a serious matter on which the whole of the fate of the people depended…was always left to the decision of the gods".[286] The site was chosen through rituals that included the taking of auspices. In the ancient world,

> *the construction of any human dwelling or communal building is in some sense always an anamnesis of a divine 'instituting' of a centre of the world. That is why the place on which it is built cannot arbitrarily or even 'rationally' be chosen by the builders, it must be discovered through the revelations of some divine agency.*[287]

A city with its inherently public nature and functions would be of even more concern to the settlement party than any *domos* or private dwelling.

Both the Greeks and the Romans relied upon advice from the gods to choose city sites, but while the ancient Greeks relied upon a visit to the Delphic oracle to determine the will of the gods, the Romans used augury. The Romulus and Remus founding myth of Rome gives some indication of how town sites were selected. In the Roman founding myth, the two brothers Romulus and Remus disagreed on the

[286] Fustel de Coulanges. p. 135.

[287] Rykwert. p. 90.

site to build their city. Romulus wants to build on the Capitoline Hill and Remus supports building on the Palatine Hill. They each look for signs from the gods in the form of birds, and the gods indicate that the Capitoline Hill is the ideal site to build a town. The need for divine sanction may explain why the polytheistic Romans often chose local sacred sites to settle.

After the site's location was determined through consulting the gods, the site was then ritually defined through the drawing of a *templum*. **Figure 2.2** A *templum* was bounded, consecrated ground that was defined with the approval of Jupiter.[288] *Templa* were required for both the definition of sacred space and the making of Roman civic decisions, including judicial activities and meetings of the Senate.[289] The sacred *templum* with its clearly defined boundaries gave the decisions validity. The activities that defined order in the city, like the city itself, required consecrated, bounded, and centred ground. The understanding of order in the ancient world was a centred and delimited one with areas clearly designated for public use through both physical and symbolic demarcations. According to architectural historian Westfall, "the product of the rite [of town founding] was what in Latin is called a *templum*, that is, an enclosed and ordered locus, a consecrated place, an *urbs*".[290] The *templum* defined both the abstract and the physical limits of the new town.

After the site was chosen and the *templum* drawn, the town's *mundus*, a ritual pit, was dug and a clod of earth from Rome thrown into it. This is among the Hellenic traditions that the Romans continued – the establishment of a symbolic connection between mother city and colony through the transfer of a physical artefact. The difference in the type of physical artefact in the Greek and Roman customs foreshadows the differences in urban patterns that resulted from the two

[288] Scheid, *An Introduction to Roman Religion*. p. 60.

[289] Scheid, An Introduction to Roman Religion. p. 60.

[290] Carroll William Westfall, 'Cities', in Architectural Principles in the Age of Historicism (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 279–314. p. 279.

traditions. A crucial element of the Greek city foundation rite was the transference of coals from the hearth fire of the mother city to the new city. The transference of coals, even when contained in a metal tripod, was a risky undertaking on a wooden sailing vessel. For the colonists to take on this risk, the transference of the hearth fire, and the mother city's *ethos* which it symbolised, must have been an essential element in the creation of a new town.

McEwen argues that the creation of a new colony began even before landfall as the men themselves created a city while in transit.[291] As previously discussed, the Greeks saw men as the city even when separated from a physical location. And once the prophesied location for a new city was found, the new town site was considered a separate state from the mother city. It was the men plus the hearth together that constituted the city. This corroborates the essential nature of the hearth to the city – if the communal hearth fire and the citizens were the most essential elements in making a city, then the ship carrying citizens and their hearth fire qualified as a city. The hearth fire, which stood for the human life of the city, and its centring role transferred to the new city. The hearth fire coal sustained the city – the men – on the journey across the sea to the new site. Then the coal created a new centre when the new hearth fire was formally lit. The effort undertaken by all involved in transporting the mother hearth fire, the importance of the creation of a new hearth fire in the founding town ritual, and the importance of the hearth fire in regulating both public and private life mean that it was not the ship but the hearth fire that provided the 'vessel' for the town in transit. Centrally focused colonies with an *agora* (and hearth fire) at their heart resulted from the Greek founding tradition.

While the Romans did not use coals, the Romans would include a clod of earth from Rome when completing the *mundus*[292] rite in any new colonial city. The founder of the new town returned to the mother city to throw a clod of earth provided by a

[291] McEwen. pp. 95-98.

[292] Roman town founding rite

local barbarian from the colonial site into the "mouth of hell" in Rome.[293] The "mouth of hell" in Rome was associated with its *mundus* and had an underground shrine that was opened only three times each year on days when the dead walked among the living.[294] The *mundus* was also associated with the harvest and offerings of first fruit, meaning the continued prosperity of the town, which would have been tied to a good harvest, was likely associated with rituals involving the *mundus*.[295] The yearly reopening of the *mundus*, which was also associated with the hearth of the town, renewed the initial protection rituals going back to the town's founding. The *mundus* rite is an example of one of the founding rituals of a city that lived on and helped to reinforce a common origin year after year.

The Roman clod of earth exemplified Roman values. While the Greek colonies were considered independent of their mother cities, in the Roman world the connection between the home city and the colonial city ran both ways. Roman colonies were continuations of Rome and as such needed a physical piece of the mother city rather than the more ephemeral coal that stood for the life within the city. The Romans also placed a high value on land ownership and had a strong history of, and continued need for, agricultural development. The Roman colonial pattern often had a strong definition of both the land inside the city and the surrounding agricultural land with a strong demarcation of the border between the two. For agricultural land the Romans used the practice of centuriation in which the land was precisely surveyed and divided into plots. In addition, Roman cities were often connected by strong land routes back to Rome through the extensive Roman road system. The Romans borrowed from the Greek town founding traditions but adapted the rituals to fit Roman culture, resulting in distinctly Roman towns.

[293] Rykwert. p. 37.

[294] Rykwert. pp. 124-125.

[295] Rykwert. pp. 124-125.

After the clod of earth from Rome was covered over, the *mundus* was then covered over and an altar was built over the site and a fire lit upon the new altar. This was the first act of construction in the new town, and it was arguably the most important public feature for the city. In the Greek colony, the hearth fire was lit by the *oikist*, or city-founder, using the coals transported from the mother city.[296] Just as the hearth was essential to both Athens' and Rome's continuity, colonial cities would have needed a public hearth to be considered consecrated and operational cities. After the communal fire was lit, the town was then officially named.

After the town was named, it was surveyed in its entirety. With the surveying of the town areas of public and, for the first time, private domains were both delineated. The surveying of private plots as part of the Roman town founding ritual indicates again the importance of land ownership in Roman culture. Many of the early colonies in Gaul, including the future capital of Lyon, were retirement settlements for veterans of the Roman army for whom the plot of land offered at retirement was a major enlistment draw.

Finally, just as Romulus did in Rome's founding myth, the boundary of the city was ploughed with breaks in the furrow at the locations of each city gate. Since the *pomerium* was sacrosanct and could not be crossed by men, these breaks allowed men to pass in and out of the city without violating the sacred boundary. In his *Roman Questions*, Plutarch asks "Why do they consider all walls sacred and holy, but not the gates?".[297] Plutarch answers both parts of the question. First, referencing Varro, he says that "the wall must be considered holy in order that men may fight and die manfully in its defence".[298] Ancient author Hyginus Gromaticus

[296] McEwen. p. 110.

[297] Plutarch, The Roman Questions of Plutarch : A New Translation with Introductory Essays & a Running Commentary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924). 27, pp. 131-132.

[298] Plutarch, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*. 27, 3-5, p. 131.

also corroborates the sacred nature of the city boundary. He says in his treatise on land surveying that,

> *the origin [of the setting up of boundaries] is heavenly, and its practice invariable…Boundaries are never drawn without reference to the order of the universe, for the decumani are set in line with the course of the sun, while the cardines follow the axis of the sky".*[299, 300]

As to the profane nature of the gates, Plutarch says "it was impossible to consecrate the gates, through which, among many other necessary burdens, the bodies of the dead are carried".[301] The walls had to be sacred to protect the city, which was crucial to survival, particularly in colonies located at the edge of Roman controlled territory like Lyon was at its founding. The city gates, on the other hand, belonged to the world of the mundane. Like the city itself, the ownership of the city's boundary was shared between heaven and earth – between men and the divine.

Development of the Public Realm

During the sixth century B.C., when Rome was still under a kingship, the first civic spaces of Rome began to take form. The forum area was drained, the Circus Maximus was defined, and the first city walls were erected. When Rome was still a small settlement - well before the advent of any movement towards a republic – the first forum, spectacle site, and city walls were taking form. **Figure 2.1**

The Romans, like the Hellenes before them, were faced with challenges of topography and tribes. Before Rome could become a city, separate settlements on several hills, an already established aristocracy, and a variety of tribes and 'nationalities', including Romans, Etruscans, Greek neighbours, and (if legend is to

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[299] Carl Thulin, Corpus agrimensorum romanorum : Opuscula agrimensorum veterum, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Edition stereotypa editionis anni MCMXIII cum addendis.. (Stutgardiae: In aedibus GBTeubneri, 1971). p. 123.

[300] translation from Rykwert . p. 90.

[301] Plutarch, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*. 27, p. 132.

be believed) Sabines had to be integrated into one citizen body or *civitas*. In addition to disparate tribes, a strong class system including an aristocratic class, those who would eventually become the *gens* or Senatorial class, is evident in the wide variance in the quality of burial goods from as early as the second half of the eighth century B.C.[302]

Like Athens, Carthage, and Sparta, among others, the settlement of Rome started on a hill. More precisely, Rome grew up from seven hills: the Aventine, Caelian, Capitoline, Esquiline, Palatine, Quirinal and Viminal Hills. The oldest settlement, on the Palatine Hill, had an easily defensible location and access to a river crossing. **Figure 2.1** Like Sparta, Rome's disparate hilltop settlements required a neutral meeting place. Rome's geography provided two neutral gathering places. The first was the area adjacent to the Tiber River crossing that would become the Forum Boarium – important because control of and shared access to the Tiber River crossing would have been crucial for the survival of all of the villages. The second neutral gathering place was the flat, marshy area that would become the Forum Romanum. The Forum Romanum became the civic centre of the city and the Forum Boarium became the gateway to Roman history and culture.

Forum Romanum

Like the Athenian *agora*, the Forum Romanum was first used as a burial ground. Burials in the area stopped in the eighth century B.C. [303] and indicate the area's change in use to a shared, ritual gathering place for the living. The future forum stayed as an open gathering place for ritual and commercial use for almost two centuries. Sometime in the sixth century B.C. the first move towards the architectural definition of civic space came with the draining of the land. Archaeologists date the draining of the forum and the building of the Cloaca, or

[302] John Stambaugh, The Ancient Roman City, Ancient Society and History (Baltimore, Md. ; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988). p. 11.

[303] Stambaugh. p. 13.

great drain, to between 650-575 B.C.[304] John Stambaugh observes that this was "archaeological confirmation of a unified "urban" consciousness [in] the drainage and paving of the Forum Romanum area, which is surely evidence of some degree of civic unity".[305] The timing of this civic works project coincided with the reign of the Etruscan kings,[306] indicating the work was funded by several tribes who had now been unified under one king. The shared or public nature of the Forum Romanum is evident from its earliest building campaign.

The Forum Romanum began its service as the commercial centre of the city and progressed to become the centre of Roman political and legal activity under the Republic. The early forum was lined with shops with the Taberna Verterae or "old shops" housing bankers and moneylenders along the south side and the Taberna Novae or "new shops" housing butchers along the north side.[307] **Figure 2.3** Some commercial aspects of the forum continued after the marketplace and shops had moved, including money lending, major financial transactions and the state treasury located in the Temple of Saturn. Under the Republic, both Senate and assembly meetings as well as high profile trials were hosted in the forum. Even as the functions that defined the forum's boundary became more official, the original open area of the forum remained unbroken for more than two centuries, through the Republic and into the Empire.

Like in Athens, the communal hearth of Rome was on its main public gathering space, the Forum Romanum. However, the Roman hearth resided in a temple tended by the Vestal Virgins rather than a civic building. Tradition dates the definition of the forum, the division of the city into four 'regions', and the building of an extended city wall to the time of the last three of the "Etruscan" kings

[304] Stambaugh. p. 14.

[305] Stambaugh. p. 14.

[306] Stambaugh. p. 14.

[307] Gregory S Aldrete, Daily Life in the Roman City: Rome, Pompeii and Ostia, The Greenwood Press 'Daily Life through History' series (Westport, Conn. ; London: Greenwood Press, 2004). pp. 49-50.

(sometime between 625-509 B.C.).[308] The creation of the forum, which would serve as the centre of Rome for hundreds of years to come and the first division of the city into defined areas were related in the mythical history of the city. Whether real or invented, the association of the forum with the division and bounding of Rome describe the tenets that governed spatial awareness in the Roman city; boundary, quartered city, and centre. The centre itself – the forum – also had a symbolic boundary, one that was defined architecturally through the centuries. Just as in the *agora*, a symbolic threshold was crossed when entering the forum. The forum was sacred territory, territory held under both the purview of the gods and the Roman state.

Like the transition from monarchy to republic, the transition from republic to empire was played out in the architectural development of the Forum Romanum. The sacred boundaries of the forum were first impinged upon by an unscrupulous emperor. Caligula (A.D. 37-41) broke the boundary of the forum with the expansion of the Domus Tiberiana, the first large-scale imperial palace.[309] Caligula's invasion of the sacred limits of the Forum Romanum with a structure that was dedicated solely to the emperor and lacked any communal civic function was only one of his many 'sins' against the Senate. Eventually all of the key entry points were taken over by structures dedicated to emperors, forcing entrants to pass through an imperial gateway of sorts when entering the sacred space of the forum. **Figure 2.4** Despite Caligula's incursion upon the sacred soil of the forum, the symbolic strength of the original Forum Romanum remained intact, if diluted, by the change from republic to empire.

While it was an emperor who first broke the sacred boundary of the forum, emperors also added to the forum's presence. **Figure 2.5** On the northwest corner

[308] Stambaugh. p. 13.

[309] John Stambaugh, The Ancient Roman City, Ancient Society and History (Baltimore, Md. ; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988). p. 68.

of the Forum Romanum, Domitian began the Forum Transitorium that was eventually completed and dedicated as the Forum Nervae under Nerva. One in a long line of imperial fora,[310] the Forum Nervae provided "an appropriate monumental entrance into the Forum Romanum for pedestrian traffic moving down through the Argiletum from the Subura".[311]

The Forum Boarium

Just as in Greece, the shared sanctuary played a pivotal role in the early definition of civic space for Rome as well. A place outside of the city's boundary where those from 'outside' the city could gather on sacred, neutral territory was needed for the city to develop. These neutral gathering places that began outside the limits of the city often developed into the heart of the city as the city grew. In Rome, in addition to the Forum Romanum, the Forum Boarium at the Tiber River crossing was an early shared, sacred space. The Forum Boarium assisted in the assimilation and celebration of marginalised populations from very early in its history. The Forum Boarium is an example of an accessible public gathering place at the boundary of the city that developed into a secondary forum as the city grew around it.

Like the Greeks, the Romans also used celebrations of shared history, both real and mythical, that were linked to physical cult sites and monuments to reinforce the notion of being 'Roman'. The link between the Forum Boarium and Rome's origin stories was an accepted narrative among the Romans. Tacitus goes so far as to place the Forum Boarium squarely at the centre of Rome's origins as a city. Speaking of the Emperor Claudius' extension of the city boundary and its historical precedents, Tacitus says;

[310] Forum of Caesar, Forum of Augustus (2 B.C.), Forum of Nerva, Forum of Peace, Forum of Trajan

[311] Stambaugh. p. 73.

> *There are various traditions concerning the pretensions or renown of the kings in this respect. The original foundation, and Romulus' boundary, are noteworthy. The furrow indicating the city's limits started from the Cattle Market, because oxen are employed for ploughing (the bronze statue is displayed there), and ran outside the great altar of Hercules. Then there were stones at regular intervals marked along the base of the Palatine Hill to the altar of Consus, the Old Council House, the shrine of the Lares, and the Forum. The Forum and Capitol are believed to have been included in the city not by Romulus but by Titus Tatius. Subsequently the city boundaries grew as Roman territory expanded. The limits established by Claudius are easily traceable and are indicated in public records.*[312]

Since the archaeological evidence shows that Rome's first city walls were restricted to the Palatine Hill, Tacitus has likely confused the Servian Walls with the work attributed to Romulus. The Servian Walls were named after the Roman King Servius Tullius although archaeological dating marks them as more likely to date to the early republic. Whether the Forum Boarium was incorporated as a civic space in the city by Romulus, by a Roman king or by the earliest *civitas* government in Rome, in this instance the myth(s) may add more status to the space than the truth, making the true date of the forum's incorporation irrelevant. The attribution of the civic building works project of the first city walls to a single individual, Romulus, reflects a Roman tradition of individual patronage in the public realm of the city inherited from the Greeks that would continue, particularly in the Roman colonies.

Since "the City was properly the area within the *pomerium*",[313] the shared sanctuary area at the Forum Boarium was originally 'outside' of the city. The forum was incorporated into the city during the same period kingship was being replaced with the Roman Republic (509 B.C. – 27 B.C.). Despite both the *pomerium* and the physical walls of the city being moved, physically and ritually, a number of times throughout succeeding centuries, the Forum Boarium maintained its role as a gateway to Rome. The Forum Boarium welcomed both those from within upon their return to Rome and those from outside when first entering the city through these

[312] Cornelius. Tacitus, The Annals of Imperial Rome, Revised edition.. (London: Penguin, 1996).

[313] O. F Robinson, Ancient Rome: City Planning and Administration (London: Routledge, 1992). p. 5.

two welcoming functions. The Forum Boarium would become both a place where otherness was encountered and a place in which proper Roman rituals were on prominent display.

The Forum Boarium's name may give some indication of the forum's early use. According to Varro (116 – 27 B.C.), an open portion of the forum was host at some point to a cattle market and the forum's name derives from the Latin word for cattle, *boves*.[314] The Forum Boarium followed a known naming convention as, "where things of one class were bought, a denomination was added from that class, as the *Forum Boarium* 'Cattle Market,' and the *Forum Holitorium* 'Vegetable Market'".[315] By the time of Varro, much of the open area of the forum was taken up by temples and other structures and lacked the large open space required for a cattle market. His account was probably based upon folklore rather than personal observation. Lawrence Richardson offers a modern argument on the origins of the Forum Boarium's name, arguing that the Campus Martius would more easily accommodate herds of cattle, and it was the bronze statue of a bull, mentioned by Tacitus, that gave the forum its name.[316] Richardson's modern argument is supported by an ancient source, as Ovid (43 B.C. – 17 A.D.) corroborates the argument that the forum derived its name from the bronze statue.[317] Whatever the origins of the forum's name, the mercantile associations of the name were a fitting match for many of the activities that the forum would come to host.

The Forum Boarium sits at the geographical conflux of Rome, between three of Rome's hills and at the Tiber River crossing shared by the hilltop settlements. **Figure**

[314] Marcus Terentius. Varro, On the Latin Language: Books V.-VII., trans. by Roland G Kent (Roland Grubb), Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1938), I. 5.146, Vol. I, p. 137.

[315] Marcus Terentius. Varro, I. 5.146, Vol. I, p. 137.

[316] Lawrence Richardson, A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (Baltimore ; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). pp. 162-164.

[317] "Adjoining the bridges and the great Circus is an open space of far renown, which takes its name from the statue of an ox." in Ovid and James George Frazer, Ovid's Fasti, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1931). Book VI, 477-8, p. 355.

2.1 The three hills surrounding the Forum Boarium are arguably the most important hills of Rome: the Capitoline, the Palatine, and the Aventine. The Capitoline Hill would develop into the centre of city government. The Palatine Hill would develop from a fortified settlement to a neighbourhood of aristocratic housing and would eventually become the home of the emperor. And, perhaps most importantly for the forum's development, the Aventine Hill was traditionally allocated to plebeian housing during the republic.[318] The plebeians were the common people, free Roman citizens who were not of the elite, patrician class.

In Rome, the realms of patrician and plebeian were demarcated along lines of topography. Plebeian and mercantile interests were:

> *most dramatically asserted on the Aventine Hill, where the temples and even the real estate were conceived as being in distinct opposition to the political and economic interests of the patricians, but the lower zones along the river were precisely the areas dominated by the utilitarian activities engaged in by the lower social orders.*[319]

The lower ground, closer to the docks and road networks, lent itself to plebeian pursuits. Life upon the higher ground removed one from the swampy marshes and offered a better chance of fresh air, especially in the hotter months. So, with the exception of the plebeian Aventine Hill, the patricians claimed the most pleasant topography for themselves.

Before the Forum Boarium was formally defined, the site was home to an extra-urban shrine on the River Tiber.[320, 321] The location at a natural access point to the

[318] Gregory S Aldrete, Daily Life in the Roman City: Rome, Pompeii and Ostia, The Greenwood Press 'Daily Life through History' Series (Westport, Conn. ; London: Greenwood Press, 2004), p. 13.

[319] Peter J Aicher, Rome Alive: A Source-Guide to the Ancient City / Peter J. Aicher (Wauconda, Ill: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2004). Section 98, p. 257.

[320] Offerings found among infill of a later period in the Church of Saint Omobono indicate that a shrine was located at the forum. Stambaugh. pp. 12, 325.

[321] Filippo Coarelli, Guida Archeologica Di Roma, Varia, 1. ed. Varia Grandi opere (Milano: A. Mondadori, 1974). pp. 281-284.

river meant that, while dominated by the Palatine Hill, the site of the future Forum Boarium was still convenient to all of the surrounding hill villages.[322] Finds of offerings associated with the early shrine may be from an early settlement on the Capitoline,[323] reinforcing the idea that the shrine was a sanctuary shared between at least the Capitoline and Palatine villages, if not all of those using the Tiber crossing. Due to its prime location at a natural point of departure and return, the Forum Boarium became a shared sanctuary, providing a neutral meeting place outside the territory of any particular village.

The forum served throughout its history as a mixing place for Romans and foreigners. Through its location at a crossroads the forum connected Rome to the rest of the known world. The Forum Boarium offered access to both the Tiber River and the Viae Aurelia and Appia, two of Rome's main arteries. **Figure 2.6** Archaeological finds of Etruscan pottery and inscriptions confirm that the Forum Boarium was in use as a public gathering place by the sixth century B.C. (if not much earlier).[324] The river crossing located at the Forum Boarium was in use from as early as the fourteenth century B.C. in connection with the north-south salt road from the Apennines.[325] The salt road track would later be incorporated into Rome's infrastructure as the Via Aurelia to the north and the Via Appia heading south.[326] The Via Appia would later connect Rome and the Forum Boarium to Rome's first colony, Ostia (founded c. 305 B.C.). Archaeological evidence found in the area of the Forum Boarium that dates from the eighth century B.C. confirms the presence of Greek traders, either from Greece or from one of the many Greek settlements on

[322] Stambaugh. p. 12.

[323] Coarelli. pp. 281-284.

[324] Stambaugh. p. 15.

[325] Aicher. Section 98, p. 258.

[326] Aicher. Section 98, p. 258.

the Italian peninsula.[327] These early finds show that several local populations were using the area as a meeting place or sanctuary, or both.

Even before the founding myth of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf appeared,[328] the Forum Boarium site was contributing to the definition of what would become the city of Rome. The Forum Boarium's role in the development of Rome was later given mythical significance when the forum was associated with its origin stories through shrines dedicated to Hercules and rituals connected to Romulus and Hercules. As well as maintaining a shared Roman history, the architecture of the later Forum Boarium also played a role in maintaining the Roman system.

Architecturally, the Forum Boarium was less formal than the Forum Romanum, as it lacked a central axis and defined perimeters. **Figures 2.7, 2.8** The early architectural definition of the Forum Boarium was provided by a large bazaar and Temple to Portunus on the east side, twin temples to Fortuna and Mater Matuta on the north side, and a scattering of unique temples and altars throughout the open area of the forum. The earliest structures built in the area made deliberate architectural links to Rome's diverse history. The forum's underlying order was dedicated to defining Rome's boundary and serving as a gateway for outsiders to both the city and the city's culture.

Rome's first bridge was one of the first permanent structures of the Forum Boarium area and was built at the location of the ferry crossing at the forum.[329] The bridge served as a physical connection between Rome and the wider world as well as formalising the area's use as an entry point where Romans and non-Romans mixed.

[327] Aicher. Section 98, p. 258.

[328] The earliest known version of the Romulus and Remus story dates from 200 B.C. Aldrete. p. 10.

[329] Aldrete. p. 14.

Like the extra-urban sanctuary did for the Greek *poleis*, the Forum Boarium served as an architectural marker for the city's boundary and entrance.

The architectural development of the area continued to express its historical roots – both sacred and plebeian. **Figure 2.7** Despite the enduring sacred associations of the area, another of the first structures built on the Forum Boarium was public rather than sacred. The Porticus Aemilia was a covered commercial bazaar that "permitted merchants, teamsters, and stevedores to circulate freely".[330] **Figure 2.7** The Porticus Aemilia was constructed in 179 B.C., around the same time as the first stone bridge connecting the Forum Boarium to the Transtiberium was constructed.[331] The covered market served as an extension of the open area of the forum.

A number of other infrastructure projects were also carried out in the second century B.C., maintaining the forum's historic dedication to shared, public use. Livy lists the works of "utility" carried out by the city's censors with public funds in the Forum Boarium area at this time as including:

> *a harbour and the piles for a bridge over the Tiber, the piles on which many years later Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius in their censorship contracted for the construction of arches, a basilica behind the new shops of the silver-smiths and a fish-market with shops about it which he sold for private use; also a portico outside the Porta Trigemina, and another behind the dock-yards, and near the shrine of Hercules, and behind the temple of Spes on the Tiber, and near the shrine of Apollo Medicus... and the erection of arches… Many shrines and public places, occupied by private persons, they caused to be public and sacred and open to the people.*[332]

While Livy refers to this list as works of "greater utility", the works listed provided a variety of flexible spaces for the users of the forum. Arches, porticos, and covered

[330] Stambaugh. p. 30.

[331] Aldrete. p. 17.

[332] Livy, History of Rome, Volume XII Books 40-42., Loeb Classical Library ; LCL332 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938). Book 40, 51, p. 158.

markets stretched the useable space of the forum by providing covered transitional spaces that could be adapted to many purposes with the simple addition of temporary stalls and tables. **Figure 2.7**

In addition to the early industrial infrastructure like the bazaar and bridge, the cults of the Forum Boarium were also monumentalised in the form of sanctuaries, temples, and altars. While more spatially complex than the cairns that marked early Greek cult sites, the simplest of Roman temple precincts consisted of a sacred area marked by a boundary. Roman religious rites, like those of the Greeks, were mainly open-air activities. The *ara* or altar for each temple was in a sacred precinct in front of the temple, making the sacrificial rites performed there visible to the public. The fact that nearly all Roman religious rituals took place in the public realm "reflects the public nature of Roman religion in general as opposed to the more private focus of modern monotheistic religions".[333]

The open nature of Roman sacrificial rituals also contributed to public awareness of both the cult and the piety of the individual sponsoring the sacrifice. Individual sacrifices would have been common in the Forum Boarium, where they could be expected from any traveller returning from a successful journey. In contrast, individual rituals would not have been expected in the more formal Forum Romanum. The importance of the Forum Boarium as a symbolic point of departure and return to the city would remain long after the access point to the river became obsolete. The Forum Boarium was the location of a number of cults and temples

[333] Aldrete. p. 150.

associated with Hercules,[334] the patron hero of dangerous expeditions. The Forum Boarium hosted the necessary prayers that were performed before undertaking a journey and the sacrifices that were offered upon a safe return to the home city of Rome.

As well as ensuring an individual's personal welfare, Roman religion was also necessary for the survival of the state, making the correct practice of religious rituals an important duty of the state. Cicero, Varro, and Virgil, among others, all suggest that "the very existence of the state depended upon the proper performance of these age-old rites".[335] Romans took great pride in their religion, and it was seen as an essential part of civilization. As Cicero proudly stated, "If we wish to compare our people with foreigners, we find that although we are only their equals or even their inferiors in other matters, in religion—we are far superior".[336] John Lenaghan interprets Cicero's claim as being a connection between the Romans' beliefs and the subsequent success of their city: "belief in the gods and Divine Providence, which has fostered the growth and prosperity of Rome".[337] Since the Forum Boarium was accessible for all levels of society and located on the fringe of the city, the public rituals performed on the forum played a crucial role in establishing the Roman religious system both in Rome and as an export.

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[334] "This area also connects with Hercules, whose mythology goes back to pre-Roman history, as does the Temple of Carmenta on the northern limit of the area referred to here. Mythology also inserts Portunus into these patterns. Carmenta, whose temple stood close to the Theatre of Marcellus, is said in Roman mythology to have been the Arcadian wife of Evander, and supposedly announced immortality to Hercules (Solinus 1,10). According to the myth, Portunus, who had his temple on the bank of the Tiber, was originally Melicertes who came to Rome with his mother Ino. Both were kindly received by Carmenta, who predicted them immortality under the names of Matuta and Portunus. The Temple of Mater Matuta was situated close to the sanctuary of Carmenta. One can see that mythology connected all the religious monuments and cults located around and in the Forum Boarium." Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice, 1st ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). p. 294.

[335] Grant. p. xiv.

[336] Cicero, De Haruspicuma Responso, 19. John O. Lenaghan, A Commentary on Cicero's Oration De Haruspicum Responso, Studies in Classical Literature ; 5 (The Hague: Mouton, 1969). p. 109.

[337] John O. Lenaghan. p. 109.

In addition to the frequent boundary sacrifices occurring in the forum, there was a proliferation of other temples and altars in the vicinity of the Forum Boarium. All of these would have left the area covered by a layer of haze from sacrificial fires that would have been visible as one approached the city. Since routes into the city by both road and river would have passed via the Forum Boarium,[338] the correct forms of Roman ritual would have been constantly on display to all who entered the city. **Figure 2.6**

Standing at the key location that was an historic entrance to the city and continued to serve as a practical entrance even after the city expanded, the Temple of Portunus was the first structure that greeted arrivals as they entered the forum. **Figure 2.8: 12** The temple faced the Via Velabrum, the road that connected Rome's main fora, the Forum Romanum and Forum Boarium, and the Pons Aemilius. The importance of this connection can be seen from the orientation of a number of structures bordering the street. **Figure 2.9** The Temple of Portunus, for example, is oriented to the Via Velabrum. While Greek temples generally faced east, Roman temples were as a rule generally oriented facing west. However, Vitruvius lists siting towards a road as an exception to the rule of the western facing temple so that "passers-by can have a view…and pay their devotions face to face".[339]

Just as in Athens, in Rome there was also a deference to historical sacred routes that persisted over the centuries. The Temple of Portunus took its orientation from the Via Velabrum in much the same way the Painted Stoa interacted with the Panathenaic Way rather than the *agora* in Athens. The temple is set on a high podium with a central, front-facing stair – a typical temple form from the Republic. **Figure 2.9** The temple's orientation had the added benefit of educating passers-by

[338] Rome's docks were located adjacent to the Forum Boarium.

[339] 'Next I asked, "Why Janus, while I propitiate other divinities, do I bring incense and wine first of all to thee?" Quoth he, "It is that through me, who guard the thresholds, you may have access to whatever gods you please"' in Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius*. Book 4, 5.

in the correct form of devotion, and the temple's formal style gave an immediate announcement that one had arrived in a capital city.

As one continued north through the open forum, the twin Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta marked the boundary between the Forum Boarium and the Forum Holitorium. **Figure 2.10** The temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta were built in the fourth century B.C., probably by General Lucius Furius Camillus, [340] in honour of Rome's victories over the Veii and the Gauls. Just as the defeat of the Persians did for the Athenians, the fourth century B.C. military successes of the Romans against their neighbours reaffirmed the superiority of their *mores* or Roman way of life.

Individual patronage of civic works was seen in the building campaigns of General Marcus Furius Camillus, defeater of the Veii and repulser of the Gauls. General Camillus was the first civic patron of Rome following the time of the seven kings. The Roman system of individual patronage would come to define both Roman culture and the civic realm of her cities. The celebration of Roman victory through the patronage of 'public' building works by an individual, in this instance a military general, hints at Rome's future as an empire-builder. General Camillus' building campaign included the monumentalisation of the shrines of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the form of twin temples on the Forum Boarium, a temple to Juno on the Aventine Hill, and the Temple of Concordia on the Forum Romanum.[341] This was individual patronage on a large-scale—something that would eventually become the exclusive domain of the emperor in Rome. As large-scale, public works became associated with the emperor, individual expression through civic works by others was pushed to the outlying territories – the colonies. The local cults and the town's founding myth provided continuity in the transition from military to civic and barbarian to Roman.

[340] Stambaugh. p. 19.

[341] Stambaugh. pp. 19-20.

The temples were also associated with the Etruscan king, Servius Tullius, who built some of Rome's earliest city walls, walls that according to legend ran through the Forum Boarium. Whilst neither Fortuna nor Mater Matuta was a Roman goddess, their temples were associated with a king and a general who exemplified being 'Roman'. Judging by their association with these early Roman heroes, the two temples probably stood on the place of even earlier cult sites, like many of the civic structures that defined the boundaries of the Athenian *agora*. Due to their location in one of Rome's earliest shared sanctuaries, despite being dedicated to relatively minor goddesses, the temples claimed an important place in Rome's sacred life.

As well as sharing a site and female honorifics, the two temples were closely related by their shared founding and matching architectural style. **Figure 2.10** Built side by side in the Etruscan style,[342] their siting foreshadowed a later republican architectural convention borrowed from the Greeks, in which there was a "tendency to group several temples in a row, their front columns more or less on the same plane, creating a more monumental façade that would be possible with a single temple".[343] The grouped style of the two temples is another indicator of Greek influence in the Forum Boarium.

In the second century B.C., monumental entrances were added to both temples,[344] continuing their united front and adding to their monumental presence. The architectural modifications also showed that the temples continued in use into the period of the empire and beyond. Through an architecturally united front, the two temples added continuity to an otherwise haphazardly bounded forum that lacked the rigidity often associated with 'planned' Roman fora. While the orientation and siting of the twin temples clearly gave definition to the northern entrance of the Forum Boarium, the lower and less-formal Etruscan style contrasted with the rigidly

[342] Stambaugh. p. 19.

[343] Stambaugh. p. 217.

[344] Stambaugh. p. 30.

formal style of the Temple of Portunus that guarded the main entrance to the forum. **Figures 2.9, 2.10**

Since both Fortuna and Mater Matuta were imports, their cults could easily have suffered under a society that valued 'Roman-ness'. As the long histories of their temples show, this was not the case. Instead the two goddesses served a role as goddesses 'apart', in much the same way that early, shared sanctuaries did. The twin temples served primarily those 'Romans' who were not citizens by dint of birth, sex, or circumstance, particularly the Temple of Fortuna.

Fortuna, goddess of fortune, chance and luck, was another Greek import, an incarnation of the Hellenic import of Tyche, the Greek goddess of chance. Although her cult would spread widely throughout the Graeco-Roman world, "she was neither an Olympian god nor known to Homer" and "her divine nature was the result of a complex evolution from idea to personification to goddess that took place mainly in the fourth century B.C. and the Hellenistic period".[345] In addition to her general aspects, Fortuna could have particular aspects "in which she personified the fortune of a city, a ruler, or an individual".[346] Or as Jesse Benedict Carter finds upon examining the many *cognomina* or distinguishing epithets attributed to Fortuna, "*functional* cognomina are practically lacking in the case of *Fortuna*, and that her cognomina are employed principally to limit and thus emphasize her protecting activity in point of time, place, or person".[347] Fortuna's protection could be tied to a specific place upon the founding of the cult. Fortuna is a fitting deity to live within the Forum Boarium with its role as an entry- and leave-taking point, as she tied travellers back to Rome as well as offering a protection that could be carried with travellers. The architectural style of the twin temples emphasised the

[345] Susan B. Matheson, 'The Goddess Tyche', Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin, 1994. p. 19.

[346] Matheson. p. 19.

[347] Jesse Benedict Carter, 'The Cognomina of the Goddess "Fortuna"', Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 31 (1900). p. 68.

cults' accessibility with its less rigid Etruscan-style that included a low profile, low entry threshold, and natural materials.

Fortuna, in addition to her role as a city personification, had cosmic associations. A second century B.C. Nabatean relief fragment shows her surrounded by the sun and moon and circled by the zodiac.[348] Fortuna may also have held some role in controlling fate.[349] Despite her foreign origins and the fact that she was never elevated to the status of a principal deity, Fortuna's roles in regulating the fate of the *cosmos*, particularly the *cosmos* as it stood at a point in time for a specific city, place, or individual meant that her services were called upon by every strata of Roman society. Of Fortuna's powers, ancient author Pindar says,

> *At thy bidding, swift ships are steered upon the sea, and speedy decisions of war and counsels of the people are guided on the land…*
>
> *Verily, the hopes of men are tossed, now high, now low, as they cleave the treacherous sea of fancies vain. But never yet hath any man on earth found a sure token sent from heaven to tell him how he shall fare in the future…*
>
> *Full many things have befallen man, of which he little dreamed, bringing, to some, reversal of delight, while others, after battling with a sea of troubles, have, in a short space of time, exchanged their anguish for the deepest joy.*[350]

As well as the united architectural front provided by the twin temples that helped to define an otherwise haphazard public forum, the cults the temples housed also served as a tie between the city of Rome and her non-citizen inhabitants.

The last monument that defined the boundaries of the forum, like the raised Temple of Portunus and the distinctive twin temples mentioned above, would also have served as a way-finding point and meeting point for the forum's users. The Arch of the Argentarii marked the transition from the Forum Boarium to the city

[348] Matheson. p. 28.

[349] Matheson. p. 28.

[350] Pindar. Olympian Ode XII, 3-12, p. 129.

proper. **Figure 2.11** The triumphal arch, a Roman invention, represents the conglomeration of the Roman cultural interests in military conquest, patronage, and fame in the afterlife. The Arch of the Argentarii, the monumental gateway to the Forum Boarium, highlighted the forum's location within and connection to the whole of the city. The arch marked the triple crossroads of a Vicus Jugarus cross street, the Vicus Tuscus, and the Clivus Victoria, which connected the Forum Boarium with the Palatine Hill.[351] The arch was named after the *argentarii* or bankers who financed its construction in 204 A.D.[352] The dedication inscription reads "negotiatores boari huius loci," translating literally as "cattle-traders of this place" or as interpreted by Lawrence Richardson, "merchants in the Forum Boarium".[353]

The arch measures 6.15 metres square and mainly features scenes of animals being led to sacrifice on its marble relief sculptures.[354] The opening itself measures 3.30 metres,[355] suggesting the arch was mainly for pedestrian traffic. Like the monumental gate at the northwest corner of the Athenian *agora*, the Arch of the Argentarii tunnels visitors through a physical threshold that marks a transition from purely human pursuits to a more sacred area, the forum that marked Rome's original *pomerium*. While the city of Rome had outgrown the Tiber River boundary by 204 A.D., the ceremonial and symbolic nature of the Forum Boarium as entry point for the city remained. The pedestrian scale of the arch emphasizes the nature of the Forum Boarium as a destination dedicated to the people of the city. By passing through a monumental gateway set up by bankers, one enters the realm, not of Senators or Emperors, but of commerce and ordinary Romans.

[351] Aicher. Section 113, p. 275.

[352] Richardson. p. 29.

[353] Richardson. p. 29.

[354] Richardson. p. 29.

[355] Richardson. p. 29.

The triumphal arch was one of the new building forms developed by the Romans that was detached from the element of public service that had previously been seen in Greek contributions to the public realm. In an amplification of the individual gifting of a public structure to serve the city-at-large, like that seen in the Painted Stoa, the Romans participated in widespread 'gifting' of monuments. The triumphal arch is a prime example. While triumphal arches provided the city with very little 'useable' area, they did serve as boundaries that helped users to orient themselves within the city. In a large city like Rome, monuments that aided understanding of the city and one's place in it did serve an important societal need.

For the Romans, contributing to the public realm was a civic duty for the urban elite, particularly those men who wanted to embark upon political careers. As Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby describe the "ideal" Roman man, he is "free and born that way, wealthy but not newly wealthy, well-bred, even cultivated, a businessman, proud of having held political office, and yet fundamentally a man of leisure".[356] Private benefactors could show their fulfilment of these ideals through displays of wealth in the public realm, whether temporary displays like festivals or permanent displays like the financing of a shrine. Permanent displays could impact political careers and sway public opinion during the benefactor's lifetime but would also make their name live on long after their death.

Glorification of the extraordinary individual, rather than the citizens as a collective, gained popularity and acceptance and began to leave its mark on the city. Individual citizens, or in the case of the Arch of the Argentarii – a specific group of citizens, could build monuments that celebrated their deeds long after their death. Individual events, particularly victories in battle, were also monumentalised. As the

[356] A History of Private Life I: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium, ed. by Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987). Volume I, p. 161.

Roman poet Horace (December 8, 65 B.C. – November 27, 8 B.C.) wrote on immortality through architecture,

> *I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze, more lofty than the regal structure of the pyramids, one which neither corroding rain nor the ungovernable North Wind can ever destroy, nor the countless series of the years, nor the flight of time.*
>
> *I shall not wholly die, and a large part of me will elude the Goddess of Death. I shall continue to grow, fresh with the praise of posterity.*[357]

While the Forum Romanum's boundaries were formalised very early in its history, the boundaries of the Forum Boarium were only erratically formalised after it had been in use as a gathering place for centuries. The architectural formalisation of the facades of the dual temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta did not occur until another two centuries after their original construction, and the final boundary marker of the forum, the Arch of the Argentarii followed another four centuries later.

Ritual in the Forum Boarium

After the forum was enclosed within the city's sacred boundary, it continued to serve as a neutral gathering place through its cults and rituals. The variety of festivals recorded in the Forum Boarium also attest to its continuing role as Rome's entrance or boundary marker. Many of the cults of the Forum Boarium and its environs celebrated place-bound Roman history. The history of the place, both its long association with sacred activities and its key role in the shaping of the city of Rome, were celebrated and kept alive through rituals. Rome's origin myth was kept alive through a variety of festivals and celebrations each year, a great many of

[357] Horace, Odes and Epodes, Loeb Classical Library ; LCL033 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004). Book 3, 30, 1-8, p. 217.

which touched upon the Forum Boarium area. Many of the Forum Boarium area cults were ancient cults with references to early Rome and the shaping of Roman culture, including: Fortuna, Mater Matuta, Hercules, Ceres, Portunus, and Mithras. The variety of cults and rituals celebrated on the Forum Boarium was immense.

There were cults catering to every member of Roman society and public spaces that catered for every eventuality. In addition to those foreign deities, like Fortuna and Mater Matuta, that were incorporated into the Forum Boarium, the forum also hosted a number of festivals that played an important role in incorporating marginalised populations into the Roman system. A brief examination of those festivals that were particularly important to integration and education in the Roman system will complement the understanding of the architecture.

Historian Scheid has reconstructed the calendar of festivals that were hosted in or passed through the Forum Boarium area:[358]

1 January	*Aesculpius on the Tiber Island, the vicomagistri take up their*
	duties in all the compita of Rome (empire)
Around 1 January	*Compitalia in the different compita, for example at the Temple of Mater Matuta, and on the Tiber Island*
11 and 15 January	*Carmentalia*
15 February	*Lupercalia, the famous race of the luperci, touches our area*
March	*no testimony for an official festival on the Forum Boarium,*
	but there are few festivals during this month
1 April	*Venus Verticordia*
12-19 April	*Ludi of Ceres, Cerealia on 19 April*
28 April	*Floralia, ludi lasting 6 days*
1 May	*Bona Dea*
14 May	*Argei*
11 June	*Matralia, Fortuna*
16-24 June	*Graeca sacra of Ceres; invention of Proserpina and sacrifice*
	on 24 June
13 July	*Circus Maximus ludi of Apollo*

[358] Scheid, 'The Festivals of the Forum Boarium Area: Reflections on the Construction of Complex Representations of Roman Identity'. pp. 292-293.

20-30 July	*Circus Maximus ludi of the Victory of Caesar*
12 August	*sacrifice at the Ara Maxima*
13 August	*'anniversaries' of the Temple of Hercules, the Temple of Flora, and the Temple of Diana on the Aventine*
17 August	*Portunus*
19 August	*Venus Obsequens (Aventine)*
21 August	*Consualia, ludi in the Circus Maximus*
4 September	*Fasting of Ceres*
14 September	*Epulum Jovis and Ludi Romani. Procession from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus*
1-12 October	*Ludi Augustales*
26 October-1 November	*Ludi Victoriae Sullanae*
14 November	*Epuulum Jovis and Ludi Plebeii. Procession from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus*
November	*annual sacrifices in connection with the burials of the Gallus, Galla, Graecus, Graeca*
21 December	*sacrifice to Hercules and Ceres*
23 December	*Velabrum, parentatio for Acca Larentia*
(unknown day)	*Pudicitia Patricia*

Just as many of the buildings and deities in the Forum Boarium area served as constant reminders of Rome's long history, a number of the urban festivals that passed through the area also celebrated the city's history and origins, including**:**[359]

11 and 15 January	*Carmentalia*
15 February	*Lupercalia, the famous race of the luperci, touches our area*
17 August	*Portunus*
21 August	*Consualia, ludi in the Circus Maximus*

[359] Scheid, 'The Festivals of the Forum Boarium Area: Reflections on the Construction of Complex Representations of Roman Identity'. p. 292.

The Forum Boarium's 'savage' pre-urban history was celebrated with a number of festivals relating to the development of 'proper' rituals, particularly the correct form of sacrifice. These festivals include:[360]

14 May	*Argei*
12 August	*sacrifice at the Ara Maxima*
12 October	*Ludi Augustales*
November	*annual sacrifices in connection with the burials of the Gallus, Galla, Graecus, Graeca*
21 December	*sacrifice to Hercules*

Argei

The Festival of the Argei dated to a time when Rome was just a collection of small settlements. The festival and procession of the Argei involved the collection of twenty-seven straw puppets, representing twenty-seven Greeks, from twenty-seven shrines located throughout the city. The twenty-seven effigies were constructed at each of twenty-seven neighbourhood shrines before being brought together.[361] The importance of the local neighbourhoods' identities and the local shrines' role in these was celebrated in a larger festival that united the entire city in a communal ritual. The effigies' final destination was the original crossing point of the Tiber River at the Forum Boarium, where they were thrown from the Pons Sublicius. While the sacrifices were no longer human by the time the festival of Argei appears in written record, the periodic purification of the city through united and citywide ritual was typical of Roman urban culture. In this rite, the Forum Boarium carried on a Greek urban tradition and served as an extra urban sanctuary. A place apart or at the boundary of the city, separate from the main civic space, was vital to the city's welfare.

Ludi Augustales

[360] Scheid, 'The Festivals of the Forum Boarium Area: Reflections on the Construction of Complex Representations of Roman Identity'. p. 292.

[361] Aldrete. p. 16.

The Ludi Augustales was a horse festival hosted in the nearby Circus Maximus that dated back to Rome's monarchy (before 509 B.C.). The festival involved chariot races and the sacrifice of a horse from the winning team. The head of the sacrificed horse was a hotly contested prize that was set on display by the winning part of town – foreshadowing Rome's distinct neighbourhoods and the way in which they would come together for the larger citywide festivals.[362] The Ludi reinforced local identity and brought together the denizens of the disparate neighbourhoods – both as residents of their quarter of the city and as citizens in the greater whole.

Gallus, Galla, Graecus, Graeca

In truly dire circumstances, a ritual that involved burying foreigners alive was practised on the Forum Boarium. It is known to have occurred in 226 and 216 B.C.[363] Under normal circumstances, a yearly ritual performed by the pontifices over the burial location sufficed.[364] Each November this re-enactment of Rome's savage past served as a reminder of where Rome began and how far she had come. The ritual also served in some ways as a renewal of the protection afforded by the original savage rituals, in much the same way the festival of the Argei did at the nearby Pons Sublicius.

Sacrifice at the Ara Maxima

The grand sacrifice at the Ara Maxima, the great altar of Hercules, on the twelfth of August symbolised Hercules' role in the development of Roman religion. **Figure 2.8** The cult site of Hercules consisted of a large central altar surrounded by a sacred precinct. The likely location of the altar would have been easily visible from the open areas of the forum. The low-walled sacred precinct marked out around the

[362] Aldrete. p. 16.

[363] Scheid, 'The Festivals of the Forum Boarium Area: Reflections on the Construction of Complex Representations of Roman Identity'. pp. 294-295.

[364] Scheid, 'The Festivals of the Forum Boarium Area: Reflections on the Construction of Complex Representations of Roman Identity'. pp. 294-295.

altar would have provided a barrier between the crowd and the priests performing the sacrifice without hindering visibility. In honour of Hercules' defeat of Cacus, the Arcadian King Evander, distant relation and ally of Aeneas, described the annual ritual as one that Romans were "duty bound to discharge".[365] Evander details the ritual as being based at the altar and followed by a feast.[366] Following a sacrifice, young warriors with garlands of poplar in their hair poured libations of wine from 'wooden cup of the rite' onto tables using their right hands while saying prayers to the Deities.[367]

Virgil makes no mention of any procession, but a procession circling the Aventine Hill would have been in keeping with the deed the sacrifice celebrates. **Figure 2.1** Following tradition dating back to the Greeks, the feast took place immediately following the sacrifice and at the same location. Temporary tables were probably erected in the open area of the Forum Boarium around the Altar of Hercules. **Figure 2.7** Since the principal participants in the ritual were young men, the area may have been restricted to them during the period of the ritual. The largely open and irregular nature of the Forum Boarium lent itself to ceremonies with multiple stages and activities with areas for spectating, routes for processions and open areas for erecting temporary tables for feasting. Multiple access points to the Forum Boarium allowed it to serve multiple activities – both stationary and moving – just as the more linear Forum Romanum lent itself to grand processions.

Lupercalia

The Lupercalia or "wolf festival" dates from the time of the kings or before, making it a fitting festival to pass through an area with an equally old and sacred history. The Lupercalia, another ritual of young men, began with the sacrifice of a goat in

[365] Vergilius. Book VIII. p. 206.

[366] Vergilius. Book VIII. p. 206.

[367] Vergilius. Book VIII. p. 209.

the cave believed to have housed the infants Romulus and Remus.[368] **Figure 2.1** After the sacrifice, the young men with blood smeared foreheads ran in a naked procession through the city with strips of goat hide. Active participation in the ritual was restricted to young aristocratic males. But the festival also involved Rome's matrons as inactive participants. Women who wished for increased fertility stood along the festival's processional route in order to be whipped by the young men with goatskin strips as they ran past.[369]

Carmentalia, Pudicitia Patricia, and Ludi of Ceres

The Forum Boarium hosted two festivals restricted to women, including the Carmentalia (11 and 15 January) and the Pudicitia Patricia (unknown date). The world of the freeborn Roman woman was an isolated one as "contact with the public sphere, in whatever capacity, seems to have compromised a woman's reputation".[370] The festival of the Carmentalia, like the festival of Mothers or Matralia, may have been restricted to free women who had been married at least once (*univirae*), housewives or matrons, and excluded slave women.[371] Carmenta was a goddess of childbirth.[372] Carmenta was an older goddess who would eventually be supplanted by Juno's rise in the Capitoline triad, but she continued to have importance to the freeborn Roman housewife.[373] As well as hosting several festivals dedicated to Roman women, whose participation in the public realm was restricted by their sex, the Forum Boarium also hosted a festival dedicated to those of the plebeian and merchant class, the Ludi of Ceres with the Cerealia occurring on the last day (12-19 April).

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[368] The mythical cave associated so closely with Rome's origins is believed to have been discovered by archaeologists in 2007 under the Palatine Hill.

[369] Aldrete. pp. 15-16.

[370] Aldrete. p. 58.

[371] Michael Lipka, Roman Gods: A Conceptual Approach (BRILL, 2009). p. 82.

[372] Lipka. p. 82.

[373] Lipka. pp. 80-82.

The Greeks also used festivals that celebrated sectors of the population who normally played a lesser role in the public realm to incorporate these sectors into the city. However, the Greeks often celebrated these non-citizen rites outside the boundaries of the city.[374] The Romans brought the festivals of the non-citizen into the heart of the city, and even dedicated a forum to hosting them. As well as the rituals associated with entering and leaving the city of Rome, the Forum Boarium hosted rites that allowed marginalised populations to participate or enter into public life in the city. Unlike sacrifices on the Capitoline Hill, rituals like the sacrifice to Hercules at the Ara Maxima on the Forum Boarium were at a much more intimate scale, in part due to the architecture of the forum.

There is a colloquial nature to the deities and festivals associated with the Forum Boarium and the surrounding area. Most deities of the area had a long history in the city of Rome and many were deities that the marginalised populations of Rome were comfortable worshipping and interacting with. The 'major three' Roman gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, appeared only superficially in the Forum Boarium area, in the Circus Maximus, which of all the structures in the area had the strongest connection to the city authorities and later the Emperor. With its multiple scales of open areas and multiple scales of façades, the informal nature of the Forum Boarium's layout lent itself to this type of openness and diversity. **Figures 2.7, 2.8**

The Forum Boarium allowed users to see and interact with people from all over the Roman world and from many strata of Roman society. A public realm that aided in the formulation of a 'Roman' self-identity or exposed and taught one how to be 'Roman' was crucial the success of Rome's later empire. Collectively, the cults of the Forum Boarium and the activities they hosted brought together a wide range of worshippers – those seeking everything from successful journeys and victorious returns to the blessing of the domestic feminine realm.

[374] See Polignac. on the role of the extra-urban sanctuary in both vertical and horizontal enfranchisement in the Greek city.

The Forum Boarium with its origins as a neutral ground that served the people of the city, as opposed to the city's ruling class, served as a perfect site for rituals of savagery and reconciliation. Even the irregular nature of the forum made it a fitting setting for ceremonies like the Argei that celebrated the more savage aspects of Rome's history. The more formal Forum Romanum with its public law courts and official state business would not have lent itself to savage rituals in the same way that the Forum Boarium did. **Figures 2.4, 2.7** Unlike the more haphazard Forum Boarium, the Forum Romanum was oriented along a linear axis running northwest to southeast with clearly decipherable geometry reinforced by a semi-uniform boundary of colonnades and steps that remained unbroken until the first century A.D.

As the city's population increased, additional social identity reinforcement was needed to maintain the civic realm. Shared sanctuaries, particularly those that developed into secondary public centres, played a vital role in the formation of civic, urban culture in Rome. As the city grew and defined itself, these sanctuaries continued to be important for those members of the urban populace who were considered outsiders. All Roman residents, not just citizens, could participate in rituals in the Forum Boarium as one in a line of many that stretched as far back as the city itself.

While the development of the Forum Romanum was largely funded by the state, many of the monuments of the Forum Boarium owed their construction to private funds. The private sponsorship of public works would go on to play an important role in Roman colonial towns. The private contribution to the city allowed sponsors to visibly show their Roman-ness, often in a bid to establish a political career in Rome. The monuments built by private donors had roots that were more tangible than those of monuments built by a ruling state based thousands of miles away. Like in the Forum Boarium and Forum Romanum, the different natures of public

works that were privately sponsored versus those that were state sponsored allowed for different activities and interactions. The state sponsored Forum Romanum lent itself to more official ceremonies inspired by a deified Emperor. In contrast, the Forum Boarium with its private and public sponsorship was a comfortable host for the more day-to-day rituals that a Roman city was based upon.

A duality between the sacred and the everyday and the juxtaposition between the two defined many Roman city forms. Every sacred city wall had to have gates through which passed the everyday. The formal forum of each city called for a second forum as a foil for the everyday people – whether it took the shape of a forum physically or symbolically. These spaces supported the dual roles of active ritual participant versus observer and Roman citizen versus newly incorporated resident. Although the final incarnations of Roman civic forms developed over time, the Romans would continue to count boundary markings, fora – both primary and secondary, and spectacle sites as necessary 'city' infrastructure. Urban elements of the highest value – those forms that represented the *ethos* of the founders – were imported to colonial cities. When translated to the colonies, the essential civic forms of boundary, forum, and spectacle site retained the symbolic meanings attributed to the original forms that had developed in Rome – in part because of their connection to a shared origin.

3. Ostia Antica

Just as in Rome – and Athens before – participation in the public realm through the correct performance of rituals was paramount to the success of a colonial city. The cultural values of Rome, from its system of patronage to the value it placed on military victories, were exported to the colonies. Many legionnaires had never actually seen Rome, so colonial towns were an idealised vision of Rome, and to some extent, all Roman colonial towns were Rome in miniature. The need for a shared public realm was perhaps even greater in a colonial town at the edge of Roman-held territory than it was in Rome itself. For many colonial settlements, particularly those that developed from *castra* or fortresses, the cultural conversion of the local 'barbarians' to 'Romans' was essential to the town's survival make the move from fortified outpost to town.

The Castrum

The *castrum*, or Roman military camp, and the Roman town have formal similarities because both are based upon the prevailing Roman worldview. Rykwert argues that, "the Roman town was not a formalized and enlarged camp. On the contrary, the Roman military camp was a diagrammatic evocation of the city of Rome, an *anamnesis* of *imperium*".[375] Rykwert echoes Polybius (c. 203 BC – 120 BC), who made the connection between the layouts of legionary camps and that of cities.[376] The *ethos* of the town could be conveyed in a few important required elements, of which the plan with its quartered, bounded, and centred definition was the most important. **Figure 3.1**

[375] Rykwert. p. 68.

[376] Polybius, The Histories, Volume III Books 5-8., Loeb Classical Library ; LCL138 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). Book 6, 27-42, pp. 365-407.

Neither the *castrum* nor the *castellum*, or military fort, was necessarily meant to become a longstanding settlement, but proper rituals still had to be observed to consecrate the site. In addition to providing protection, the repetition of the 'founding' rites of the *castrum* resulted in a recognisable and familiar form. The order of the Roman *castrum* was both symbolic and physical, replicating familiar elements with each camp meant that soldiers felt as psychologically comfortable as possible in sometimes hostile territory but also always knew where the commanders' tent lay within the camp. The orientation was two-fold: functional and symbolic. Livy suggests that the order of the camp replicated in a symbolic way a familiar order or defined space the soldier would know from Rome, from the city walls down to the household gods.[377] Stambaugh agrees, arguing that "a standardized plan permitted soldiers to feel securely oriented within camps built at very different locations".[378]

The Roman camp was always setup 'ceremonially',[379] following a prescribed set of rituals that have some resemblance to the *mundus* rite. The steps of the camp setup ceremony involved first planting the *vexillum*[380] of the General at an appropriate spot. From here the *praetorium*[381] was paced out, and then a *groma*[382] was placed at the border of the *vexillum* and the *praetorium* and used to layout a straight grid of 'streets'.[383] The cities that grew from *castellum*, like Rome's first *castellum* of Ostia, often retained strong traces of the original layout at their centres. **Figures 3.2, 3.3**

[377] Livy, History of Rome, Volume III Books 5-7., Loeb Classical Library ; LCL172 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924). Book 6.

[378] Stambaugh. p. 250.

[379] Rykwert. p. 68.

[380] Military standard similar to a flag

[381] General's tent

[382] surveying instrument

[383] Rykwert. p. 68.

Founding: Myth

Although founded before the republic, Ostia could be considered Rome's oldest 'colony'. Ancient authors place Ostia's founding in the Principate, with both Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c. 60 BC – after 7 B.C.) and Cicero (106-43 B.C.) attributing Ostia's founding to a king.[384] Ostia takes its name from its site at the *ostium* or mouth of the River Tiber,[385] which provided inland Rome with access to the sea.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus' description of the founding of Ostia touches upon the essential considerations in the founding of any new Roman town. When describing the founding of Ostia, Dionysius mentions in order; the notable topography of the site (augury & auspicious site), a manmade demarcation (*templum*), and the new town's connection back to Rome (*mundus*) in his account of Ostia's founding.

> *Upon the elbow of land that lies between the river and the sea the king built a city and surrounded it with a wall, naming it from its situation Ostia, or, as we should call it, thyra or "portal"; and by this means he made Rome not only an inland city but also a seaport, and gave it a taste of the good things from beyond the sea.*[386]

The elements listed by Halicarnassus closely follow the steps in the town founding rite that Rykwert has identified. As identified by Rykwert, a prerequisite for a successful town was a healthy site, as identified by the gods through augury.[387] Following the identification of a divinely sanctioned site, the main founding rites included the drawing of a *templum* and the opening of a *mundus*.[388] To this list

[384] Dionysius, The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, The Loeb Classical Library, 7 vols (London: Heinemann, 1937), II. II, p. 179.

[385] Anthony Pereira, Rome (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1974). p. 313.

[386] Dionysius, II. II, p. 179.

[387] Rykwert builds upon arguments from predecessors including Plato, Aristotle, Vitruvius, and Fustel de Coulanges. Rykwert. pp. 41-44.

[388] Rykwert.

should be added a custom borrowed from the Greeks - the involvement of a founder in these rites. Ostia's auspicious site at the mouth of the river, a noteworthy founder (the king), and her ties back to Rome are all in keeping with the ritual patterns identified by Rykwert, among others.

Cicero identifies King Ancus Martius, who was the son of King Numa's daughter, [389] as the founder of Ostia. When listing the worthy deeds of King Ancus Martius, Cicero includes; defeating the Latins and adding them to the Roman state, capturing the Aventine and Caelian Hills and dividing the territory amongst the citizens living there, declaring all forests captured along the coast to be public property, and finally, founding a city at the mouth of the Tiber to which he sent a "body of colonists".[390] This founding follows a similar pattern to that seen in Athenian folklore where the hero-founder archetype, Theseus in Athens' case, gathers or conquers disparate peoples, redistributes or re-divides the land, and finally, dedicates shared space to the new collective citizen body. The founding of cities, both the *civitas* and the *urbs*, was one of the most venerated public deeds in Roman myth. The founding of towns would only become a more important symbol of power as Rome's empire expanded.

Ostia was connected back to its founding city of Rome physically through the navigable length of the River Tiber. Ostia's function as the receiving point for the grain that fed the city of Rome was another tangible tie between the two cities, and Ostia mirrored the successes of Rome "as their ties were so intimate".[391] The bond between the two cities may even account for Ostia's survival following the building of the canal and harbour at Portus in the mid-first century A.D. Ostia's fate

[389] Cicero. pp. 156, 170.

[390] Cicero. p. 170.

[391] Giovanna Vitelli, 'Grain Storage and Urban Growth in Imperial Ostia: A Quantitative Study', World Archaeology, 12.No. 1 (1980), 54–68. p. 57.

continued to be symbolically intertwined with that of Rome, and authors from Cicero to Tacitus connected the fate of Ostia and Rome.[392]

In Cicero's telling of the story of Clemens, the slave who impersonated the Emperor Agrippa, Clemens arrives via Ostia where he is "the centre of interest to a vast concourse, as well as to secret gatherings in the capital".[393] Although Tiberius eventually captures and slays the false claimant to the title of Emperor, the route to Rome via Ostia and the use of Ostia to trial the popularity of the false Agrippa show Ostia's importance to Rome and the success of the Roman state. Ostia here is guarding the gates to both the city of Rome and the seat of the Emperor.

The Roman historian Tacitus gives another story that illustrates Ostia's importance to the running of Rome. In this example, Messalina, wife of Emperor Claudius, waits until Claudius leaves for Ostia on state business before she marries her lover.[394] Here Claudius is blameless and performing his duty as Emperor in the correct and prescribed way by journeying to Ostia to perform a sacrifice. Although the reason for the sacrifice is unknown, it is safe to assume it was a known and planned part of Claudius' duties as Messalina has the time and warning to prepare a full wedding.

In Ostia, Claudius hears of the deceit and returns to Rome to triumph over his adulterous wife and her lover's attempt to wrest control of Rome. Messalina and her lover, Silius, are engaged in Bacchanalian rituals when a member of their party climbs a tree in fun only to report seeing "a terrible storm from Ostia".[395] Following this warning, Messalina gathers her three remaining friends and journeys to Ostia in the hopes of begging mercy from Claudius. They meet upon the road for the confrontation rather than at either city – on neutral ground. As the Emperor seems

[392] See Cicero; Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals of Tacitus* (London: Macmillan, 1876).

[393] Tacitus. 2.40. p. 58.

[394] Tacitus. 11.26, p. 194.

[395] Tacitus. 11.26, p. 196.

inclined to feel pity upon his return to Rome, his servant Narcissus orders the death of Messalina the night before she is to give evidence to forestall any chance of leniency by the Caesar.[396]

It is in Ostia while performing his sacred duty that Claudius is betrayed, and it is the storm seen coming from Ostia that foreshadows both Messalina's fate and the eventual righteous triumph of the Emperor. However, it is on neutral ground outside the sacred boundaries of both Rome and Ostia that the confrontation between the cheating wife and righteous Caesar occurs. Finally, it is in Rome that Messalina meets her fate in a return to order and balance. Ostia stands as the gateway for Rome's fate, as well as the gateway to Rome's river access and the all-important grain barges that fed the populace of Rome.

Development of the Public Realm

Archaeological finds from the 1990s, when viewed in conjunction with the written sources, have helped to illuminate Ostia's earliest days and the importance of her *ostium* site at the mouth of the Tiber River. Archer Martin and Eric C. De Sena's 2003 'Ostia - Overview of the Pottery' lays out ceramological and archaeological evidence for an earlier founding date for Ostia than previously suspected. After new technology made excavation below the waterline possible, the fill of the foundation trench of Ostia's oldest walls was re-examined in the 1990s. The material in the fill layer of these earliest wall foundations revealed them to be of a much later date than previously suspected. If Dionysius of Halicarnassus was correct in reporting walls erected at the time of the colony's founding, the oldest wall foundations would bear the same date as the town's founding. The unworked face of the material in the foundation trench, in contrast to the layers above, indicates a date of no earlier than c. 305 B.C. Black glossware, a type of ceramic, found at the site

[396] Tacitus. 11.26, pp. 196-198.

bears the mark of the workshop *atelier des petites estampillles*, which has been dated to c. 265 – 305 B.C. [397] Using the written and archaeological source material, Ostia's founding can thus be dated to c. 305 B.C.

In addition to an earlier founding date than was previously suspected, the findings also suggest that a sanctuary pre-dated the town, giving Ostia a propitious start. The wide variety of ceramic fragments[398] found with the wall foundations suggest that they may have been votive offerings. The votive offerings that predate the colony marked the site as under the purview of the gods before the colony was founded.

Based upon the ceramological evidence, Ostia saw early Roman activity, possibly in the form of a sanctuary, at the mouth of the Tiber River. The discovery of this new evidence may explain the multiple ancient sources that claimed Ostia was founded in the Principate. Archer and De Sena interpret the evidence to mean that the main settlement was set on the hills away from the sea in the fourth century B.C., but the concentration of the settlement moved (back) to the mouth of the river before the founding of the *castrum* and the building of the Via Ostiensis.[399]

Ostia's topography also contributed to the auspicious nature of the site. Ostia's site at the mouth of a river connected it to the gods and the history of the world as the Romans believed it. The Tiber River was the most important of all rivers as it led to Rome, and the Tiber, like all rivers, also flowed into Oceanus, the circumambient body of water that defined the world according to the Roman cosmological myth. The life-giving force that Romans associated with rivers and springs meant that

[397] Archer Martin and Eric C. De Sena, 'Ostia - Overview of the Pottery', Rei Cretariae Romanae Favtores Acta, 38 (2003), 43–49. p. 43.

[398] Martin and De Sena list among the findings; 4th century black glossware, painted fine creamware, fine creamware, course creamware, and internal slipware. Martin and De Sena. p. 43.

[399] Martin and De Sena, p. 43; Originally published in F. Zevi, 'Appunti per Una Storia Di Ostia Repubblicana', Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 2002, 16–17.

Ostia's site was blessed for success. The similarity to Rome, which was also founded at a river crossing, would have been both auspicious and a tangible reminder of the home city. With the founding of Rome's first colony on a sacred river site, a precedent is set for choosing sites that were under the purview of the gods, with a preference for sites with geographical similarities to Rome.

Before evidence of an earlier presence on the site was discovered, road access from Rome to the salt marshes near Ostia was thought to be the main determining factor in the choice of site for the *castrum*. Cicero, writing a century after Ostia's founding, listed protection of the salt marshes at the base of the Tiber as the primary reason for the founding of the military camp at Ostia. Hermansen gives several other reasons the local populace might have wanted direct access to the river, including "fishing, trade, especially by merchant vessels that were run up on the beach, and general communication, including river traffic to Rome".[400] With the ceramic votive offering discoveries, access to a sacred site can be added to Hermansen's list.

According to Leonardo Benevelo, "Ancient writers considered it particularly propitious when the two territorial axes coincided with the two axes of the city, so that the roads leading out into the country from the city were a continuation of those within the city".[401] Ostia's site was particularly propitious, as two roads, one from Rome and one from Laurentum, met and converged at the *castrum* site before continuing to the very mouth of the river.[402] **Figure 3.2** According to E. J. Owens, the road from Rome whose orientation was derived from the River Tiber was incorporated into the town of Ostia as the city's *decumanus maximus*.[403] The second route from Rome entered Ostia at the Porta Romana but then turned north

[400] Gustav Hermansen, Ostia: Aspects of Roman City Life (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981). p. 4.

[401] Leonardo Benevolo, The History of the City (London: Scolar, 1980). p. 220.

[402] For discussion on the various publications and discussions of the roads and their locations in relation to Ostia, see Hermansen. pp. 2-4.

[403] E. J Owens, The City in the Greek and Roman World (London: Routledge, 1991). p. 110.

at the original *castrum* site, indicating the road was rerouted to serve the new military settlement.[404] The road from Laurentum, aptly named the Via della Foce or Road of the Mouth, was likewise diverted to become Ostia's *cardo*. The first section of this road remained the Via della Foce while a section became the southern stretch of Ostia's *cardo*. This pre-existing route would eventually lead to a great irregularity in the layout of imperial Ostia.

The original *castrum* established at Ostia measured 193.94 by 125.70 m.[405] **Figure 3.2** According to Owens, the scheme seen at Ostia "became standard in Roman colonies throughout Italy down to the end of the republic and laid the basis for the towns which Rome established throughout the empire".[406] In the fourth century B.C., there was very little growth outside the walls of the *castrum*. What growth occurred was along the *decumanus*. Ostia was a rectangular, walled city bisected by two main cross streets with the centre of civic life, the forum, at the crossing. After the founding of the *castrum* at Ostia, a civilian settlement grew up to the west where three roads met and a market place, or *macellum*, grew up.[407] Before the empire, Ostia was compact and most major construction projects were inside the *castrum* walls.

Hermansen's list of major, permanent structures in Ostia shows that a compact growth pattern was the norm until the reign of Augustus. In the second century B.C., the majority of growth was in regions III and IV. It is not until the first century B.C. that the more monumental trappings of a Roman town appear with the building of two temples and a theatre. **Figure 3.3: h** Before the first century, the layout of the town would have informed visitors that Ostia was a 'Roman' town

[404] Hermansen. p. 3.

[405] Owens. p. 110.

[406] Owens. p. 111.

[407] Hermansen. pp. 1, 4.

through its strong axis and central forum. The layout of the *castrum* remained foursquare both functionally and symbolically until the first century B.C.

Most growth in the first century B.C. is concentrated in regions III and IV with seventeen major, permanent structures built in these districts compared to seventeen major building works in all the other regions combined. **Figure 3.3** The new buildings in both Regions I and IV were all located either along the *decumanus* or close to the *castrum*.[408] If the mouth of the Tiber and the route to Rome were two of the biggest draws for those travelling to and through Ostia, property along the *decumanus* that connected the two would have been advantageous. Rather than a pattern of growth outwards from all gates of the city, or along both the *decumanus* and *cardo*, Ostia expanded mainly along the *decumanus.* The city became distinctly linear in form, nearly obscuring the original castrum layout. Even as the original *castrum* layout became obscured as Ostia expanded, the symbolic foursquare city remained. Ostia's later linear form still met with the Roman town formula. The main road led to a forum in the centre of town and growth to the east and west of the original *castrum* remained fairly equal, keeping the forum at the centre of the city. **Figure 3.3**

In Rome, the fire of 64 A.D. led to much wider streets lined with colonnades and much lower buildings than before. The "narrow winding passages and irregular streets" of old Rome were replaced with "rows of streets according to measurement, with broad thoroughfares, with a restriction on the height of houses, with open spaces, and the further addition of colonnades, as a protection to the frontages of the blocks of tenements".[409] **Figure 3.4** The *decumanus maximus* at Ostia is an excellent example of how the new Roman urban aesthetic spread through Roman territory. The *decumanus'* role in orienting Ostia was accentuated by the addition of covered porticoes and sidewalks in keeping with the trends

[408] Hermansen. pp. 5-6.

[409] Tacitus. 15.38, 43, pp. 302, 304.

coming from Rome. Ostia's *decumanus* was a particularly broad avenue by Roman standards and lined with apartment buildings fronted with colonnades for pedestrian use.[410] **Figure 3.4** The *decumanus* also probably served as the main ceremonial route through the city. The connections to the sacred mouth of the Tiber and to Rome added an additional level of symbolic importance to the route.

From the Porta Romana, the *decumanus* led to and then transected the symmetrical, main forum before continuing through the entire town. **Figure 3.6** Ostia's main forum was formal and open, bracketed on the north and south by monumental temples – the Capitolium to the north and the Temple of Rome and Augustus to the south, both of which would become requirements for colonial towns. Situated at the end of the long, open alleyway and bracketed by porticoes on both sides, the Capitolium with its raised plinth is particularly monumental in its setting. The Capitolium takes the stage-like height of the Temple of Portunus on Rome's Forum Boarium to even greater heights. For a visitor to Rome, the forum of Ostia and its Capitolium dedicated to the main Roman gods might be the first introduction to Roman urbanism and Roman religious ritual. The open forum with its dual temples and porticoed sides with incorporated basilica would become a standard forum form type in colonies founded after Ostia.

Another form that would be carried to the provinces can be seen in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni built in conjunction with Ostia's theatre under the reign of Augustus.[411] **Figure 3.5** The Piazzale delle Corporazioni was a perfect example of a secondary square with a freestanding temple. Located en route to the main forum, the piazzale provided a perfect meeting point for commercial activities. The piazzale is ringed with offices shaded by a portico – all of which have an excellent view of the central temple to Annona Augusta, the goddess who was the personification of

[410] Ray Laurence, A. S. Esmonde Cleary, and Gareth Sears, The City in the Roman West, C. 250 BC-C. AD 250 (Cambridge, [England] ; New York, N.Y: Cambridge University Press, 2011). p. 118.

[411] Angelo Pellegrino, *Ostia Antica: Guide to the Archaeological Excavations* (Soprintendenza Archeologica di Ostia, 2013). p. 65.

the all-important grain supply to Rome. Like the deities of the Forum Boarium, the deity of the piazzale was one with a wide appeal who was outside of the traditional Roman pantheon. Merchants, ship owners, and traders from everywhere in the known world did business in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni under full view of each other and under the watchful eye of Annona Augusta. The volume of traffic in the piazzale was so great that a second row of porticoes had to be added to the edge of the forum under Hadrian.[412] The portico and office-ringed forum with a centred temple would become a popular form type in other colonial cities.

As Ostia grew in population, the need for *stoae* and additional less formal public gathering places also grew. The newly-built porticoes along the *decumanus* served as a place for commerce, for meetings, and grandstands for processions. **Figure 3.4** Other spaces that were public but at a more everyday scale were also needed in a city with the international population of Ostia. Ostia's linear form meant that a number of shallow cross streets and tertiary fora bisected the *decumanus* along the route from the Porta Romana to the forum. **Figure 3.3** These spaces were often shallow enough to maintain a visual connection to the *decumanus*. In some cases, these side streets also provided the same type of public amenities the *decumanus* did – raised, covered walkways wide enough to accommodate a number of activities in addition to serving as simple pedestrian walkways. **Figure 3.7**

For example, the Via di Diana district at the northeast edge of the forum provided several meeting points of a smaller scale than the more official Piazzale delle Corporazioni. **Figure 3.7** In addition to Forum della Satua Eroica with its overview of the *decumanus* and the main entrance to the forum, the neighbourhood also hosted a secondary, pedestrian entrance to the main forum from the Via di Diana. Just before the pedestrian entrance was a large bar and courtyard complex. The covered arches at the front of the Thermopolium of Via di Diana bar marked the entry to the bar and its courtyard while also providing a soft gathering space slightly

[412] Pellegrino. p. 65.

apart from the street. **Figure 3.7: e** From this vantage point it was possible to see the pedestrian access from the Via di Diana to the main forum. The pedestrian access point entered the forum under one of its porticoes opposite the side of the Capitolium. This less formal entrance to the main forum gave a more human scale view than the official route from the *decumanus*. **Figure 3.7: f** The Via di Diana neighbourhood with its many small fora, bars, and courtyards provided architectural provision for secondary meeting points at the entrance to the main civic and sacred centre of the town. Ostia, with its location on the Tiber, had a particularly close relationship with Rome, but the colony also exhibited many of the properties that would continue to define Roman colonisation. The choice of an auspicious site and the founding ritual were crucial to the success of any Roman settlement. Connections to Rome and the symbolic creation of a Rome in miniature ensured that the fate of any colony was tied to that of Rome.

Ostia, Rome's first colony, set many precedents in its public realm that would be carried into new colonial settlements as the empire expanded. As had happened in the Hellenic world, patterns developed for the centre of the public realm, the forum. The fora 'types' seen in Ostia were repeated and modified as they were used throughout central Italy, Cisalpine Gaul, and Gaul itself. In the towns founded from Augustus' reign onwards, these fora pattern became even more strongly defined. Without the origin myths that had helped to define older Roman cities, newly-founded colonies required a formalised origin ritual for consecration. The form that resulted from this ritual was recognisably 'Roman'.

The colonial forum included a central, free-standing temple, an open area surrounding the temple, and a colonnade that functioned as a *stoa*. **Figures 3.8 – 3.16** Colonial fora had clearly defined boundaries that marked one's entrance into the sacred area of the forum. The entrance to the colonial forum was from a processional axis or axes, the *cardo* or *decumanus*, and connected the forum back to the city's gate. In addition to the usual paved open area and surrounding

porticoes, these fora included a basilica or law court, a small *civitas*-magistrate's office, a *curia* or Senate house, and a temple, often dedicated to either the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva or some continuation of local gods.[413]

Within the Gallic forum-basilica complex, the temple or sanctuary was often placed at the centre rather than at the periphery of the forum – as had been the case in the Forum Romanum and the Forum Boarium. While the forum-basilica complex with freestanding temple was atypical in the main fora of Central Italian settlements, the freestanding central temple forum type was commonly seen in minor fora. As previously discussed, the Plaza of the Corporations at Ostia is a perfect example of a secondary square with a freestanding temple. **Figure 3.5** The Plaza was set off the main thoroughfare, rather than centred upon it, and anchored by a theatre rather than a basilica. The Theatre Plaza of Leptis Magna, of the first and second centuries A.D., repeats this pattern of open forum backed by a theatre and featuring a centred temple. **Figure 3.15** In this case, the size of the Theatre Plaza also clearly marks it as secondary to the larger Ancient Forum and Severan Forum.

In Augst (founded c. 44 B.C.), as was common in Gallic examples, the temple was freestanding within the forum. In the original forum prototype, the Forum Romanum, the temple is placed against the forum's enclosure. **Figure 2.4** In Cisalpine Gaul Lousonna had a similar forum-basilica complex to that seen in Augst and other Gallic fora. **Figure 3.13** In Gaul, this type of temple to forum arrangement can be seen in a number of settlements, including those that were official Augustan foundings such as Narbonne, Vienne, and Nîmes.[414] Despite its humbler proportions, "the fact that the type could be so convincingly echoed in a modest *vicus* of this sort shows how deeply rooted this basilica-forum plan became in Gallo-

[413] J. F. Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260 (London: Croom Helm, 1983). pp. 144-147.

[414] J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'From Republic to Empire: Reflections on the Early Provincial Architecture of the Roman West', The Journal of Roman Studies, 60 (1970), 1–19. pp. 9-10.

Roman thinking".[415] As an examination of the temples on the city's access routes in the Forum Boarium has shown, temple orientation and placement could be used to impart the correct form of rituals to non-Romans. The freestanding temple that became common in colonial towns allowed for an even greater degree of spectatorship and education with visual access from all sides.

This arrangement served as the heart of any *colonia* or settlement aspiring to the title of *colonia.*[416] As many colonial towns were founded completely in one building campaign, there was a compacting of some of the forms essential to an *urbs*. A distinctly Roman and distinctly colonial forum type emerged to meet the needs of the new *urbes*. New settlements would have been founded with a single forum that had to perform all of the myriad functions that would have been divided between several fora in a larger, more established town.[417] The need to add functions to the forum as the settlement grew could explain the tendency to build secondary fora of equal or similar monumentality to the central forum. In Gaul, the forum with freestanding temple allowed for the harmonious incorporation of local architecture and deities. The freestanding temple might be the most lavish and monumental building the town possessed for many years. The freestanding arrangement, in addition to the visual access it provided, also gave architectural separation from the surrounding buildings of the forum, which in the early days of the new town might be of a more utilitarian style than the all-important temple.

As well as the essential basilica and temple, colonial fora often included distinctly non-civic structures. The fora of Lugdunum Covenarum, Lousonna, Lutetia, Lyon, and the ancient forum of Lepcis Magna all included a porticoed row of shops just as the early Forum Romanum did. **Figures 3.10, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.15: a** The forum of

[415] Ward-Perkins. p. 10.

[416] Being granted the title of colonia civium Romanorum gave all citizens of a town full Roman citizenship rights.

[417] William L. MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire, Yale Publications in the History of Art, 17, 35, Revised and enlarged (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1986). p. 36.

Dougga included an entire market. **Figure 3.9** All of these porticoed commercial structures share good sightlines to the most important civic buildings on their fora. For those non-Romans who were not participating in the civic realm, these covered areas offered the perfect neutral vantage point to stop and observe the proper Roman proceedings on the town forum.

Another innovation in the provincial forum complex was the addition of *cryptoporticus*, subterranean or semi-subterranean vaulted storage and commercial spaces, which are common in Gaul and can also be seen in Northern Italy (Aosta) but not Central Italy. J.B. Ward-Perkins suggests these subterranean structures were primarily structural in purpose and, in addition, also served as storage.[418] The Iader (Zadar) forum illustrates this structural purpose quite clearly, with a *cryptoporticus* running only along the northeast side of the forum where the ground drops sharply away. The forum of Durocorturum (Reims) in Gaul also includes *cryptoporticus* buildings along the forum. A clear pattern that incorporated Roman forms while adding adaptations that fit the Gallic setting arose in the *fora* of Gaul. The parts of the Gallic forum-basilica complex could easily be adjusted to different geographical conditions, as was the case at the hilltop site of Lyon.

The Romans took the Greek form types, adapted them to new Roman needs, and arranged them in patterns that could be repeated in various settings. Just as in ancient Athens, the foundation myths of both Rome and Ostia reflected the Roman *ethos*. As both the Hercules and Romulus and Remus stories illustrate, order and the proper performance of ritual were paramount to the success of the Roman urban system. The active engagement that had been a requirement in the ancient Greek *polis* diminished – all citizens no longer participated in governing and judging. The consolidated centre seen in Athens began to be devolved. Roman order needed to be displayed and taught well before visiting the heart of the city. In addition to the strong central fora pattern that grew up in the Roman colonies, secondary fora

[418] Ward-Perkins. p. 11.

and devolved *stoae* developed to serve the Roman need for education in proper Roman ritual. Secondary fora at entry points to the city and other accessible points allowed newcomers to observe proper Roman ways well before reaching the central forum of a city. Devolved *stoae* – in the form of porticoes and porches – lined entry points to the spaces that were essential to establishing Roman order – the city's boundary, the main processional routes, and the main, civic forum. The Roman urban form facilitated observation, with non-citizens, whether immigrants or plebeians, observing Roman citizens performing Roman rites in the correct manner.

4. Lyon

Before Caesar's conquest, Gaul was not isolated from the rest of the Mediterranean world. Faïence, Egyptian segmented beads of blue glass paste, dated to c. 1400 B.C. have been found in Gallic burial mounds associated with menhirs.[419] Menhirs marked points of sacred significance and defined the landscape. As a secondary function, menhirs often marked Gallic territorial boundaries, just as archaic hilltop sanctuaries did in Greece. Rhodian pottery found at the excavations of St.-Blaise near the mouth of the Rhone River give evidence of trading between the Greek world and the south of France as early as the seventh century B.C.[420] Trade with Etruria as well as Rhodes, Ionia, Athens and Corinth can be seen in St.-Blaise from before the fifth century B.C., and following a period of unrest in the fifth century B.C., trade with south Italy and Spain can be seen.[421] Through contact with Hellenic colonies, in addition to wider trade, Hellenic architecture and urbanism would have been known in at least the larger Gallic settlements.

Before the Romans, the Greeks colonised across the Mediterranean in two waves, between 775-675 B.C. and between 675-550 B.C., with the second wave reaching into the Western Mediterranean and Gaul. The Phocaean colony of Massalia, or Marseille, was trading in the central Mediterranean with the Etruscans and in the western Mediterranean, with known trade with Spain, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Carthage.[422] From Massalia, founded in c. 600 B.C., the many influences that Mediterranean-wide trade brought were filtered further inland and into Gaul.

[419] Paul MacKendrick, Roman France (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972). p. 8.

[420] MacKendrick. p. 10.

[421] MacKendrick. p. 10.

[422] MacKendrick. p. 12.

Archaeological evidence in the form of coin hoards clearly shows that Massalia played a part in the economic development of the Rhône Valley.[423]

In addition to Massalia's role in spreading awareness of Hellenic urbanism throughout Gaul, Massalia also played a role in the creation of the Roman province of Gaul. In the third century B.C. when Rome and Carthage were at war over who would have dominion of the western Mediterranean, Massalia chose to side with Rome over Carthage. It was in Massalia's position as a Roman ally that it called upon Rome for aid in 154 B.C. and again in 125 B.C. when the local Celto-Ligurians threatened the city.[424] After Massalia's second call upon her Roman allies, the Roman troops stayed, founding a permanent *castellum* or military base at Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Province) in 122 B.C.[425] Following this second military campaign in aid of Massalia, Rome annexed an area stretching from the lower Rhine to the Pyrenees, continuing up the Rhone valley to Lake Geneva. The colony of Narbo Martius (Narbonne) was founded in 118 B.C. to secure the western boundary of Rome's new territory. It was through Greek Massalia that Rome first gained territory in Gaul, including the area that would later become the colonial capital of Lyon,[426] which was located at the frontier of Gaul at the time of Caesar's conquest. From 100 B.C. until the Visigoth challenge of the early fifth century A.D., southern Gaul remained firmly under Roman control. [427]

After Caesar's conquest of Gaul three *colonia* were founded – Noviodunum (Nyon), Raurica (Augst), and Lugdunum (Lyon). Raurica and Lugdunum were founded after Caesar's death but generally accepted to be in accordance with his plans for the

[423] MacKendrick. p. 12.

[424] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : the Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. p. 5.

[425] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : the Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. p. 6.

[426] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : the Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. p. 6.

[427] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : the Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. p. 6.

new province.[428] After the conquest of Gaul, a campaign of Romanisation through urbanisation commenced. Typically, towns were settled and comprised mostly of citizens before being given the rights and title of *municipium.* Bestowing full rights at a town's founding removed the incentive of gaining *municipium* status. Instead, there was usually a trial period during which Romanisation occurred through assimilation and contact with imported Roman citizens, who were often retired legionnaires. Romanisation was allowed to grow as the citizenry grew until the town itself desired the honour of becoming a *municipium*. The Roman urban form aided in Romanisation by acting as the setting where locals could learn the proper rituals of Roman life.

According to Drinkwater, young Gallic men who found an outlet for their "native military enthusiasms" by joining the Roman army were a source of Roman citizens to populate new colonies.[429] As well as adding talented cavalry-leaders to the Roman rosters, these young men might "return home wealthy, travelled, partially Romanised and with a positive inclination to change their own way of life and that of their communities, in which they would exercise considerable influence".[430] They also gained Roman citizenship through their service and were fully indoctrinated in the Roman patron-client system as "proud clients of both Caesar and his successor, Octavian".[431] The spread of the imperial cult throughout Gaul was due in part to veterans and to the building of the Imperial Sanctuary at Lyon. The deification of emperors would not have offered direct competition to the Gallic gods in the way that the gods of the Roman Pantheon might have.

Romanisation was eased by this first generation of Gallic veterans. These 'partially Romanised' citizens became leaders in local society, bringing with them Roman

[428] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. p. 19.

[429] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. pp. 19-20.

[430] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. pp. 19-20.

[431] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. pp. 19-20.

habits and rituals. Caesar began, and Augustus continued, a tradition of populating new settlements with veterans. Lyon was one of the early Roman towns that was populated by and formed by the culture of retired veterans. In addition to the initial settlers, veterans continued to retire in Lyon throughout its history, probably encouraged by opportunities offered by both local and central administration. Lyon remained a popular retirement town for military veterans from Gaul throughout the Roman empire, as the grave steles they left behind attest. Through colonial cities, Rome offered a wholesale way to access a life that had been imported by traders and missionaries in piecemeal fashion before the conquest of Caesar.

Despite early conflict, Greg Woolf argues that the transition from Gaul to Gallo-Roman was wholesale:

> *Roman and Gallic identities were opposed during an early – but brief – formative period; thereafter that opposition was supplanted by more familiar Roman contrasts, between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, military and civilian and so forth. Cultural distinctions echoed these social changes, so that the construction of theatres and temples and the possession of mosaics and consumption of fish-sauce rapidly came to signify good taste and social eminence, rather than adherence to a set of cultural norms associated first and foremost with alien conquerors.*[432]

Roman cultural norms permeated all levels of Gallic society, with Woolf going so far as to say, "the spread of Roman style, right down to the most basic tableware, shows that even the poorest had learned to be impoverished in a Roman manner".[433] By the middle of the second century B.C., two centuries after the first Augustan towns were founded, "Gallo-Roman life had settled down and become fused with that of the Roman world in general".[434]

[432] Greg Woolf, Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). p. 206.

[433] Woolf. p. 206.

[434] Olwen Brogan, Roman Gaul (London: Bell, 1953). p. 173.

One arena in which there remains some question of the 'Romanisation' of the local Gallic population is religion. Local religious cults appear to have remained in use alongside new imported cults, and the names and images of traditional Gallic gods continued to appear into the third century A.D. and sometimes even later.[435] While the Gallo-Romans continued to call upon their ancient gods, the earthly dwellings of those gods became distinctly Romanised. Gallic gods received Roman-style temples and altars as Roman architectural styles quickly replaced the simpler Gallic sanctuary styles. When the local gods were supplanted, the Roman sanctuaries often continued to occupy the site of their Gallic predecessors.[436] While the Gallic religion was not entirely replaced, it was Romanised through architecture and through the use of that architecture as the setting for education in the proper forms of Roman ritual.

The Roman process of religious integration "did not entail the propagation of a particular cosmology or theology, but rather of a particular ritual tradition and its associated sensibilities such as *pietas* and *religio*".[437] Instances where barbarian cults were marginalised rather than integrated came about not from "a failure to worship the right gods, but on a failure to worship any gods in the right way".[438] The key to the creation of Gallo-Roman religion, like everything else in Roman culture, was correctly preformed ritual. The process of *integratio* relied upon newcomers to the Gallo-Roman culture learning the proper form of cult rituals from those already familiar. The process required a built framework to support the rituals, in the form of sanctuaries and public infrastructure, as well as Roman citizens to emulate. Like in Greece and then in Rome, the urban procession was perhaps the grandest of these cult rituals that were key to the development of Gallo-Roman culture.

[435] Woolf. pp. 206-207.

[436] Woolf. p. 207.

[437] Woolf. p. 215.

[438] Woolf. p. 215.

Since religion is one of the areas in which Romanisation may have been slower, it is worth investigating the religious landscape of Gaul before the Roman conquest. While the evidence for pre-Roman Gallic sanctuaries is somewhat problematic, certain characteristics occur with enough frequency to make some generalisations regarding typical layouts of Gallic sanctuaries. In terms of location, Gallic sanctuary sites tended to be in either isolated yet visually prominent locations or on sites closely associated with settlements.[439] In both isolated sanctuary sites and those associated with settlements, "clear delineation of space by ditches, banks, walls or a combination of these" provided "the most uniform element".[440] In sites where natural geography like mountains provided definition, as at the terraced site at Roqueperteuse, the natural landscape provided the necessary sacred boundaries.

While the majority of Gallic sanctuaries lacked monumental architecture, some temple-like structures appeared in the late Iron Age. Those sanctuaries that included structures in addition to enclosures and ceremonial pits include: the porticoes at Entremont, the stone-built structures at St. Blaise, Ensérune, and Nîmes, and a wooden structure built to replace a grouping of pits at Gournay.[441] **Figure 4.1** There are also a few instances where the square enclosure and temple complex echo the Roman-style shrines that would supplant them, most notably at Nages and Roque-de-Viou.[442] Contact with the wider Mediterranean world, including Hellenic trade, may well have inspired these exceptions.

On Iron Age Gallic religion, Woolf reasons that "it seems likely that the cosmos was organized partly in relation to a sacred geography to judge from the existence of early Gallo-Roman topical cults" and offers the cults of Dea Bibracte at Autun,

[439] Woolf. p. 211.

[440] Woolf. p. 210.

[441] Woolf. p. 211.

[442] Woolf. p. 211.

Matrebo at Glanum and Mercury Dumias in the Auvergne in support.[443] The inclusion of the Matrebo cult at Glanum, where a Hellenic presence is attested as early as the second century B.C., gives credence to the form of the temple enclosure complex being an import from the eastern Mediterranean. This organisation of the *cosmos* through sacred geography echoes the Roman worldview. As Rykwert interprets ancient Roman authors' understanding, "orthogonal planning was the product of grafting a law of land tenure on to some form of quasi-astronomical surveying, which gave landed property divine, and in particular celestial, sanction".[444] In other words, the organisation of any important architectural elements, whether of a city or a sanctuary, in relation to each other and their surroundings was of grave, and indeed cosmic, importance.

Creating Gallo-Roman Towns

In terms of urban infrastructure, the Romanisation process had two stages according to Janet DeLaine: the first through those structures necessary to Roman governance and the second through those structures that fulfilled the needs of the local inhabitants, including buildings dedicated to entertainment and religion as well as more practical constructs like aqueducts.[445] Like the examples of the more formal Forum Romanum and the more accessible Forum Boarium, there were two types of infrastructure that any Roman city needed to be worthy of the name. One type accommodated the needs of the state and the other accommodated the day-to-day needs of the citizenry. Within these two categories there were a number of physical structures that the Romans saw as essential to any Roman town. MacKendrick lists

[443] Woolf. p. 213.

[444] Rykwert. p. 88.

[445] Janet DeLaine, 'Between Concept and Reality: Case Studies in the Development of Roman Cities in the Mediterranean', in The Ancient City: New Perspectives in Urbanism in the Old and New World (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), pp. 95–116. p. 115.

these essentials and identifies them as the 'stake' with which the Gauls were tempted to become participants in the Roman system;

> *every respectable Gallic city would be ashamed not to possess most or all of the following…: a circuit wall, a regular grid plan, an amphitheater for gladiatorial shows, a theater, a civic center with a Forum for the transaction of business, a basilica for the law courts, a curia for the meetings of the town council, and a Capitolium for the worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; sumptuous bathing establishments; aqueducts and drains; the surrounding fields neatly centuriated (surveyed and allotted to Roman colonists and native Gauls); and a monumental arch celebrating, as Voltaire implied, the city's own subjection. This enhancement of the beauty of their towns, this rise in their living standards, was the consolation Rome offered the Gauls for the humiliation of their conquest. Most Gauls were grateful—grateful enough, in many cases, to pay for the beautification themselves—and the result was peace, prosperity, and a golden age.*[446]

According to MacKendrick, the Roman town was the ultimate consolation for Roman rule. MacKendrick's list of necessary structures and form types falls into both of the categories outlined by DeLaine – structures dedicated to governance and those dedicated to the needs of the local citizenry. The two stages and the form types they include were equally important in making the ultimate Roman town. Hellenic and Roman urbanism were already known in Gaul by the time of Caesar's conquest, and the levels of trade indicate an appreciation for the products of Italy. However, the direct importation of a miniature Rome would not have met the needs of the local situation. Instead a Roman town that was distinctly Gallo-Roman, and in keeping with DeLaine's process of Romanisation, was developed and employed throughout the province.

Roman sanctuaries built in the Gallic provinces exemplify DeLaine's second stage of Romanisation, that of urban infrastructure dedicated to the needs of the local populace. Gallo-Roman sanctuaries did not always have a direct precedent in either central Italy or in Gaul but reflected beliefs and styles from both. This mix of Roman technology and styles within an existing framework of site and layout is in keeping

[446] MacKendrick. pp. 60-61.

with the Roman policy regarding the existing cults of conquered people. The *interpretatio romana* was the "process by which the Romans put their own particular interpretation on the divinities of Gaul",[447] rather than suppressing them entirely. In the second stage of buildings, that dealing with the needs of local inhabitants, siting these sanctuaries alongside or in conjunction with existing sites gave locals an added stake in the Roman structures. The Gallo-Roman sanctuary that emerged was distinctly Roman while still retaining echoes of the Gallic past.

Augustan colonists incorporated a variety of influences to arrive at settlements that were Roman but also uniquely Gallo-Roman. Influences included: local building materials and building techniques, local, Hellenistic-influenced religious and domestic architecture, as well as buildings that were uniquely Italian building types such as basilicas, fora, bath-buildings, amphitheatres, theatres and aqueducts, and classical state temples that were imported 'ready-made' from Italy.[448] The provinces of Northern Italy were a source of influence for provinces farther west, including those in Gaul, and the Roman public buildings of Gaul derive much of their architectural language from Northern Italy.[449] It is clear that in many of the Augustan settlements, such as Arausio (Orange), two centuries of experience in Cisalpine Gaul were put into practice by the surveyors of the new cities of Gaul.[450] It was not just in the Three Gauls and the northern frontiers that the influence of Cisalpine Gaul was felt. Both the military architecture of the northern frontiers and Trajan's Forum back in Rome derived from a common source – the urban architecture of Cisalpine Gaul – whose basilicas were, in turn, derived from the second century B.C. basilicas of the Forum Romanum.[451] **Figure 2.4**

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[447] Jean-Jacques Hatt, *Celts and Gallo-Romans*, Ancient Civilizations (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970). p. 244.

[448] J. B. Ward-Perkins, 'From Republic to Empire: Reflections on the Early Provincial Architecture of the Roman West', The Journal of Roman Studies, 60 (1970), 1–19. p. 4.

[449] Ward-Perkins. p. 6.

[450] Ward-Perkins. p. 7.

[451] Ward-Perkins. p. 7.

The architecture of the provinces, the Gauls especially, was where the ideals and theories of central Italy were worked out on a relatively non-urban canvas. However, due to the nature of settlements in which several cultures live side-by-side, the local culture expressed itself alongside and eventually in combination with the Roman ideals. The incorporation of existing sacred geometries into the fabric of the Roman plan with its typically prescribed elements and orientations, like that seen in Ostia, was used throughout the Roman provinces and became typical of Roman colonial towns. In addition to the physical infrastructure essential to a Roman town, participation in urban rituals in the new urban settings was also a crucial part of instilling Roman urban culture in a local populace.

An in-depth look at the development of one of these colonies will uncover the *ethos* behind the new urban forms. The Roman-founded Lyon would rise from a small veterans' settlement to become the Capital of the Three Gauls. Lyon would become the birthplace of Roman emperors and the training ground for urban ideals and provincial leaders across the wider Roman world. The urban patterns that had developed in both Greece and Rome would come to fruition in a 'planned' colony that today stands as the second largest city in the modern nation of France.

Founding: Myth

At its founding, Lyon was at the edge of Roman-held territory. While the Emperor Agrippa would later build a road system connecting all of Gaul,[452] at the time of Lyon's founding, the navigable Rhône and Saône Rivers offered the fastest connection to the rest of the Roman world. Proximity to two navigable rivers made

[452] John Drinkwater places initial construction on the northern Gaul road network between 39-37 B.C. John Drinkwater, Roman Gaul (Routledge Revivals): The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260 (Routledge, 2014). p. 125.

the site an attractive one. On the importance of the river system in Gaul, Greek historian Strabo (c. 64 B.C. – c. 23 A.D.) explains;

> *The whole of this country is irrigated by rivers descending from the Alps, the Cevennes, and the Pyrenees, some of which discharge themselves into the ocean, others into the Mediterranean. The districts through which they flow are mostly plains interspersed with hills, and having navigable streams. The course of these rivers is so happily disposed in relation to each other, that you may traffic from one sea to the other, carrying the merchandise only a small distance, and that easily, across the plains ; but for the most part by the rivers, ascending some, and descending others. The Rhone is pre-eminent in this respect, both because it flows into the Mediterranean, which, as we have said, is superior to the ocean, and likewise passes through the richest provinces of Gaul.*[453]

Strabo lists Lyon's hilltop site, as well as the Rhône and Saône, as contributing factors in Lyon's quick rise to prominence in Gaul. Strabo also attributes Lyon's role as the hub of the new road system to its central location:

> *Lugdunum is the centre of the country—an acropolis as it were, not only because the rivers meet there, but also because it is near all parts of the country. And it was on this account, also, that Agrippa began at Lugdunum when he cut his roads.*[454]

With the building of the provincial road system, Lyon was connected to the Rhine River, the Channel, and the provinces of Aquitane and Galia Narbonensis. While Lugdunum was an outlying settlement at the edge of Roman territory following Caesar's conquest, its location at the confluence of two rivers meant that Lyon would become the centre of the Roman west.

Unlike the Hellenes, the Romans typically chose inland sites along or near existing trade routes, whether over land or water, that were easily defensible. Rome's earliest settlements in Gaul, the *castellum* at Aix-en-Provence and the settlement at St-Bertrand-de-Comminges, show this pattern. Lyon more than met these criteria,

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[453] Strabo, Geography, Volume II Books 3-5., Loeb Classical Library ; LCL050 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923). Book 4, 1, 2.

[454] Strabo, *Geography, Volume II Books 3-5.* Book 4, 6, 11, p. 289.

at least on the surface, as Lyon had a defensible hilltop site at the confluence of two navigable rivers on pre-existing trade routes. The hilltop site offered a defensible outpost while the land nearer the rivers provided access to trade routes and the rest of the Roman world. As well as the defensible nature of a hilltop site, the sacred associations of hilltop *acropoleis* in both Hellenic and Roman cultures have already been noted.

As an examination of Roman town founding rites has shown, practical concerns were not the only ones considered in the building of a new town - an auspicious site blessed by the gods was an important consideration. Rome's history included sacred associations with rivers, particularly crossings, confluences, and origins. The symbolic entry point of Rome remained at the original shared river crossing at the Forum Boarium long after the city had grown to encompass both banks of the Tiber River. The Tiber even gave Rome its founder when Romulus and Remus were washed ashore at the site of the Forum Boarium. The parallels to Rome itself must have been evident to the first settlers. Lyon, like Rome, possessed several hills and an important, shared river crossing. These associations and the natural topography of Lyon would have made the Fourvière Hill site an auspicious candidate for a settlement. **Figure 4.2**

Until discoveries in the 1980s, Lyon's founding by L. Munatius Plancus, the governor of Gaul and Caesar's former lieutenant, was believed to have taken place in 43 B.C.[455,456] However, in the 1980s traces of defensive ditches dating to c. 70 B.C. were unearthed at the 'Verbe Incarné' on the Fourvière Hill.[457] The evidence for a founding date of 43 B.C. came from the orientation of the town's *decumanus*. The *decumanus* outlined in the founding by Plancus aligned with sunrise on the 7th of March and the 7th of October. As the Roman town-founding rite fixed the main axes

[455] MacKendrick. pp. 64-65.

[456] Burdy. p. 97.

[457] Burdy. p. 97.

– *cardo* and *decumanus* - of the town on the morning of foundation, the exact day of Lugdunum's foundation could be derived from her *decumanus*. French archaeologist and excavator of Roman Lyon Audin (1899-1990) proposed a founding date of 7th October 43 B.C.[458] With rectification for the differences between Caesar's newly implemented Julian Calendar and our own Gregorian Calendar, the date becomes 9 October 43 B.C.[459] The date in early October also corresponds with migratory patterns of crows.[460] Seeing crows during the auspice-taking ceremony at the beginning of the town founding ritual would have been seen as a sign of favour from the gods. Given the more recent archaeological finds, Audin's proposed date was probably a 're-founding' or non-military founding of a previously Roman-occupied site. The plan of Lyon, particularly its two fora, support an original fortified camp with a date of c. 70 B.C. and a formal town-founding of 43 B.C.

According to legend, Caesar's officer, Lucius Munatius Plancus, led Roman citizens fleeing from Vienne and the conflict with the Allobroges to become Lyon's early settlers.[461] These Roman citizens may have been veterans of Caesar's legions, specifically the fifth Alouette,[462] who were joined by Plancus' veterans.[463] The discovery of an earlier fort on Lyon's site explains the previously unknown reason behind the choice of Lyon for the fleeing veterans. They were probably joining compatriots already stationed at the site. Throughout their history, the Lyonnais continued to celebrate and reference their military origin, so whether the founding story involving Caesarean legionnaires is accurate or not, the story became part of the collective history of the town. The original citizen base of veterans may also explain why inhabitants of Lyon were all given the right of Roman citizenship, even

[458] Audin, *Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum*. p. 16.

[459] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 16.

[460] Burdy. p. 97.

[461] Burdy. p. 97.

[462] Burdy. p. 97.

[463] Burdy. p. 97.

those locals of the tribe Galeria, from the time of the city's founding.[464] The right of citizenship is denoted in the official name of the settlement at founding by the addition of *colonia* to the title – Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum.

Though officially founded during Caesar's lifetime, Lyon owes much of its physical form to the Augustan administration. This paucity of pre-Augustan, Roman infrastructure in the newly established *colonia* was typical;

> *Even in the posthumous Caesarian coloniae established … by L. Munatius Plancus, Augusta Raurica (Augst) and Lugdunum (Lyon), there is not much that can be securely vouched for as pre-Augustan.*[465]

Ward-Perkins attributes the emerging settlement pattern seen in Gaul primarily to Augustus, writing, "architecturally speaking it seems, then, that the settlement in Gaul was very largely an Augustan creation".[466] Augustus' contributions to Gaul, and Lyon, were myriad and ranged from administrative organisation to building campaigns to establishing the first council of the Gallic tribes;

> *Between 39 and 10 B.C. he [Augustus] was in Gaul four times…The result was the military, administrative, economic, and religious settlement…He divided the territory Caesar had conquered into three provinces…: Lugdunensis, with its capital at Lugdunum (now Lyon); Aquitania, capital Burdigala (Bordeaux); and Belgica, whose capital was Durocortorum (Reims). He built roads, took the census, set up a system of tax-collection, and brought Gauls into the Roman state religion by ordaining an annual meeting of the sixty Gallic tribes (civitates) at a new Altar of the Three Gauls at Lyon.*[467]

But "above all, he founded or embellished cities".[468] So Lyon was founded as a military fort then a Caesarean colony and finally became a model Augustan town.

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[464] Burdy. p. 97.

[465] Ward-Perkins. p. 4.

[466] Ward-Perkins. p. 4.

[467] MacKendrick. p. 60.

[468] MacKendrick. p. 60.

Founding: Site

There were signs of human activity at the river crossing near Lyon that dated back to the Neolithic Period – well before Roman occupation. **Figure 4.2** Archaeological evidence in the Vaise neighbourhood, north of the Fourvière Hill and on the right bank of the Saône River, shows the remains of a settlement with origins as early as the Neolithic.[469] The site holds evidence of tombs and dwellings dating from the Bronze and Iron Ages, as well as evidence of trade with the Hellenic world via Marseilles by 500 B.C.[470,471] Nearly half a century of contact with the wider Mediterranean world through trade with Marseille had paved the way for the later Romanisation of the area. The location along a river trade route would also have brought stories of Rome, especially after her alliance with Marseille. While the Roman settlement would be founded on the hill above the Vaise, the success of this early adjacent settlement gives testament to the auspicious nature of the site. The fort-town with a local settlement at its edge would also have fit within existing *castellum* patterns, although the local settlement usually grew up in service to the fort rather than the fort developing after the local settlement.

Due to this adjacent local settlement, Roman Lyon began as a settlement with multiple centres, Roman and local. A pattern involving multiple centres that were connected by ritual activity continued to play a role in Lyon's success. Before the Roman founding, the area hosted two sanctuaries in addition to the local settlement at the Vaise. **Figures 4.3, 4.5** The town site was defined by the first Gallic sanctuary at the apex of the Fourvière Hill and its access track that ran roughly north-south. This track is now the oldest street in Lyon and is known today as the Rue Roger Radisson, formerly the Rue de l'Aquitane.[472] The second sanctuary was

[469] Burdy. p. 97.

[470] Jean Burdy, Guide Du Lyon Gallo-Romain (Lyon: Editions lyonnaises d'art et d'histoire, 2004). p. 97.

[471] Audin, *Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum*. p. 64.

[472] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 64.

located across the Saône River at the confluence of the Rhône and Saone Rivers on the Croix-Rousse Hill, delimiting the boundary of the settlement's territory.

On the site of Lyon itself, on the Fourvière Hill, there is archaeological evidence of religious ceremonies. Trenches filled with animal bones and wine amphorae fragments imported from Italy were found,[473] indicating recurring ritual activity at the site. The high-value of the amphorae, which were of imported rather than local origin, indicates the importance of the site. The lack of evidence of permanent structures combined with the evidence of offerings suggests that the site received repeated ritual use but housed no permanent settlement. As the Vaise settlement and the Fourvière Hill are located some three kilometres apart, the sites correspond to Polignac's definition of the relationship between a settlement and suburban sanctuary.[474] Lyon, future capital of Gaul, was likely founded at a seasonal sanctuary like those seen at the sites of other ancient settlements from Athens to Ostia.

The two Gallic sanctuaries at Lyon were both in isolated positions – neither was directly associated with a settlement. The first sanctuary falls into the category of isolated yet prominent location, being located at the apex of the Fourvière Hill. Audin proposed that the existing sanctuary at the top of the Fourvière Hill was an *omphalos* consisting of a chronometric altar and two pillars dedicated to the Gallic god Lug, god of both light and the calendar.[475] Light, particularly the yearly cycle of changing daylight, regulated daily life. In addition to the ceremonial pits found in archaeological excavations, if the Fourvière sanctuary followed known Gallic sanctuary patterns, the sanctuary itself would have been regulated by a sacred

[473] Banner, Musée Gallo-Romain, Lyon, France, 2014.

[474] Polignac divides seventh-century Greek sanctuaries into three categories; 1. Urban – within the city's limits, 2. Suburban – closely associated with and just outside the city's boundaries, 3. Extra-urban – still associated with the city but at the edge of the city's territorial boundary, typically 6-12 kilometres from the city. Polignac. p. 92.

[475] Duncan Fishwick, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, Etudes Préliminaires Aux Religions Orientales Dans l'Empire Romain, t. 108 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1987). p. 100.

enclosure of some type. Even after the sanctuary became the site of Lyon's forum, legible boundaries continued to shape the space, with the track leading to the sanctuary becoming the access road to the town's first forum. The second Gallic sanctuary at Lyon, which would become the Gallic centre of the Imperial Cult, was on the Croix-Rousse slope. **Figures 4.2, 4.3, 4.4** In addition to its relationship with the confluence of the Rhône and Saône Rivers, the site was also associated with a natural spring. As this second sanctuary was defined by natural elements, this sanctuary was likely without a man-made boundary. Like in Archaic Greece, Gallic sanctuaries were also revealed to man through signs or through 'sacred' topography.

Lyon's plan was not as standardised as colonies with less challenging topography. However, Lyon still provided an early and classic example of an amalgamated provincial town that was characteristic of Roman imperial expansion policies in both form and function. The Roman process of *integratio* can be seen in the treatment of the Gallic sanctuary at the apex of the Fourvière Hill. During his founding Plancus avoided including the summit of the Fourvière Hill, as it was the location of a pre-existing sanctuary to the Celtic god Lug. In a show of respect to both the god and the local Celts over whom the capital would eventually govern, Plancus located the town as close to the existing sanctuary as possible while still respecting its sacred boundaries. **Figure 4.5** It is from this existing sanctuary that Lyon took her name. Lugdunum's official name at founding was Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum, the parts of which roughly translate as:

> felix = 'prosperous' 'happy'
>
> dunum = high site
>
> Lug = either the Celtic goddess Lug or light (Lux in Latin) which as Lug was the goddess of the sun and light equates to a similar reading.[476]

[476] Burdy. p. 97.

The majority of the plateau at the top of Fourvière Hill was laid out at the 43 B.C. foundation of the colony with regularly shaped lots, atrium houses and buried cisterns and roads.[477] Initially, Lyon's blocks were fairly small, with blocks of atrium houses measuring only 70.6 metres by 35.5 metres.[478] The more permanent nature of atrium houses and the planning involved in building buried cisterns from the outset showed that the town was always meant as a permanent settlement. Excavations have revealed the footprint of the original founding, with traces found at the Rue des Frages and the Verbe Incarne district.[479]

Development of the Public Realm

Just as it did in Athens, the *stoa* would also play an important social role in Lyon. Like both Athens and Rome before it, Lyon was also a city founded on a hill. The difficult geography meant that Lyon lacked a central flat gathering area that could accommodate a forum of a size suitable to the city's population. The covered walkways and *stoae* of Lyon that might have been tertiary public spaces in a different site instead took on a role of primary importance in maintaining public life in the colonial city, with multiple sites together performing the role of secondary forum.

In Lyon, the street grid aligned approximately with the cardinal directions, probably aligning with the existing Gallic sanctuary and its access route just as Ostia took its orientation from an existing route. As the sanctuary was dedicated to the god of light, the sanctuary probably aligned approximately with sunset and sunrise. An orientation dictated by the existing sanctuary, which would have been laid out by less sophisticated surveyors than those working with Plancus, would explain the slight misalignment with the cardinal points. The original layout of the town

[477] Jean Burdy, Guide Du Lyon Gallo-Romain (Lyon: Editions lyonnaises d'art et d'histoire, 2004). p. 98.

[478] Found in the area later replaced by the Imperial Sanctuary. Burdy. p. 107.

[479] Burdy. p. 98.

respected the existing shared sanctuary by leaving its boundaries intact and by incorporating the track that accessed the sanctuary into the town plan.

According to Vitruvius, if the site for a town is inland as is the case at Lyon, the forum should be situated at the centre of town.[480] Lyon follows the standardised town plan in which the main axes lead from the city's boundary to meet at a centrally located forum as much as was possible given the unique site and local context. Although Lyon's *cardo* and *decumanus* are at right angles, they do not physically meet due to the topography of the site. **Figure 4.4** Lyon's first forum was laid out at the symbolic crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus* on the location of what is now the theatre and odeon. **Figure 4.5** The first forum site was lined on at least two sides, north and west, with porticoes, several of which remained in use after the forum itself was moved. The porticoes, which predate the theatre and odeon, support the theory of the earlier forum site. The forum was later moved to the north to the location of the Gallic Sanctuary on the Fourvière Hill.[481]

In Lyon, there was at least one monumental Roman-style building that predated an Augustan building boom – a porticoed enclosure that was partially demolished to make way for the Augustan theatre.[482] **Figure 4.11** This portico marked the symbolic crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus* and played a key role in establishing the public realm in the early camp settlement. This portico was likely part of the colony's original forum. In the early days of Lyon's history before the full trappings of a Roman town were built, the portico may have served as everything from a court to a basilica to a market, just as the *stoa* served many of the public needs of Hellenic towns. There is also evidence of other monumental, stone construction on the old forum site. One of the walls of the theatre later built on the site was built

[480] Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius*. p. 31.

[481] Ludivine Péchoux, Les Sanctuaires Des Périphérié Urbaine En Gaule Romaine, Archéologie et Histoire Romaine, 18 (Montagnac: Editions Monique Mergoil, 2010). p. 318.

[482] Ward-Perkins. p. 4.

with re-used stones. **Figure 4.8** Instead of the smaller stones used in the rest of the theatre's construction, this wall had large stones that were carefully cut using a different technique to the rest of the structure.[483] The limestone, which was quarried upstream along the Rhône River from Lyon,[484] probably came from a dismantled structure nearby – supporting the argument that the town's original forum was on the theatre site.

With the building of the Altar of the Three Gauls at the Croix-Rousse sanctuary site in 12 B.C., the need to respect the old sacred site on the Fourvière Hill lessened. The sacred boundaries of the Gallic sanctuary on the Fourvière Hill were transferred from the purview of Lug to the newly deified Augustus and Jupiter. The site, which was an ideal location for the city's forum, could now be used for civic purposes. While the sacred boundaries were kept, the dedication moved to the public, in much the same way hero-shrines and local cults did in Hellenic cities. Even in colonial cities the pre-Roman situational context, the landscape, sacred sites, sacred boundaries, and access routes to sacred sites continued to be respected.

The location of Lyon's new Augustan forum was unusual because it lacked a relationship with the (symbolic) crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus*. Instead the forum sat at the end of a thoroughfare that ran diagonally to the general grid. Instead of the town's forum, it was now the theatre and its entry plaza that had a relationship with the sacred *cardo-decumanus* crossing. **Figure 4.6** The termination of a town's main axis in the forum was not without precedent, as the ancient forum of Lepcis Magna shows. **Figure 3.15** The previously discussed relationship pattern of theatre to theatre plaza to main thoroughfare that developed in Cisalpine Gaul was well-adapted to the topography of Lyon. When examined within this context, the

[483] 'Une Réparation Antique Avec Des Matériaux Récupérés - 1 Er Siècle - 3e Siècle Après J.-C.' (unpublished Placard presented at the Parc Archéologique de Fourvière, Lyon, France, 2014).

[484] 'Une Réparation Antique Avec Des Matériaux Récupérés - 1 Er Siècle - 3e Siècle Après J.-C.'

theatre plaza's relationship with the *decumanus* and the forum's lack of a physical relationship with the *decumanus* are not so unusual.

Lyon's Augustan forum took its orientation and site from a pre-existing cult site and its access road, as well as being on axis with both the town's *decumanus* and the rising sun. The new forum location was larger than the original, which allowed for larger gatherings in keeping with the city's increasingly prominent role in provincial administration. Lyon's forum now held all of the usual supporting structures including; a temple to Jupiter, a basilica, a tribunal, baths, and a porticoed row of shops, serving as an example for the rest of the province. Lyon's Augustan Forum follows the pattern seen throughout Gaul of a forum with a basilica and a centred temple dedicated to Jupiter. **Figure 4.9** The forum continued to serve the population of Lyon even after the spread of Christianity. Deacon Florus de Lyon reported that the forum of the town finally collapsed on the first day of autumn 840 A.D.[485]

Temple

The freestanding temple of Jupiter in Lyon's new forum sat at the highest point of the Fourvière Hill and faces roughly due west. **Figure 4.9** According to Vitruvius, gods who are protectors of the state should be given temple sites at the highest point with the best overview of the city.[486] And if there are no hindrances, the temple and *cella* should face west.[487] If a western facing temple is not possible, then the temple should enjoy the broadest view of the city possible. If the temple site is by a river, then the temple should face the river.[488] If the site is by a public road, then the temple should face the road so that "passers-by can have a view of them

[485] Amable Audin, Essai sur la topographie de Lugdunum (Audin, 1959). p. 34

[486] Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius*. p. 31.

[487] Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius*. p. 116.

[488] Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius*. pp. 116-117.

and pay their devotions face to face",[489] just as the Temple of Portunus did in Rome's Forum Boarium. As the previous examination of the temples of Fortuna, Mater Matuta and Portunus in the Forum Boarium has shown, temples facing towards major thoroughfares and open fora also aided in educating spectators in the correct form of rituals. The east-west orientation of the Temple of Jupiter was appropriate in both Roman tradition and in keeping with the site's former use as a sanctuary to the Celtic god of light, Lug.

Basilica and Commercial Buildings

The location of Lyon's basilica remains unidentified but in keeping with the patterns seen throughout the Roman provinces, the basilica is most likely a structure located along the west side of the forum. **Figures 4.9, 4.10** The likely basilica shared its footprint with commercial and administrative functions. While commercial functions were usually in proximity to a town's forum, they are not typically immediately adjacent to its basilica. However, the early Forum Romanum had set a precedent for the incorporation of commercial premises within the forum when this combination met the needs of the town. A complex of seven stores lined the west side of Lyon's forum. Six of the stores measured 6.12 metres deep but differed in width. The southernmost store was a *thermopolium* or wine store.[490] This use is known from traces of frescoes and *amphorae* set into the lower wall of the open front side underneath the portico that fronts the western edge of the forum.[491] The seventh, northernmost shop in the complex extended an additional 4.10 metres beyond the other shops. This extension left additional clearance for the street bounding the *insula* and the access it provided to the front entrance of the supposed basilica.[492] While this small protrusion was less monumental than

[489] Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius*. pp. 116-117.

[490] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 61.

[491] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 61.

[492] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 61.

examples seen in other colonial fora, it did serve as an architectural boundary and marker for the entrance to both the basilica and the forum itself.

Curia and Baths

Lyon's tribunal was most likely located to the east of the basilica in a courtyard.[493] The suspected tribunal had two wings, to the north and south, with the north wing holding a small public bath.[494] **Figure 4.9**

Palace

The first century A.D. incursion onto the Forum Romanum by the Emperor Caligula was an incursion that was repeated in many colonial capitals. The forum-basilica form often included an office or even residence for the colonial governor, the representative of Rome and the emperor. Lyon in its role as a colonial capital would have required this addition to the standard forum-basilica form. A candidate for the imperial residence at Lyon was discovered at modern 24 Rue Roger-Radisson. **Figure 4.9** Eleven elaborate mosaics on the floor mark the structure as the residence of a high official. Built during the reign of Tiberius (14 – 37 A.D.), the residence belongs to the same building campaign as the Imperial Sanctuary.

Theatre and Odeon

When the new Augustan Forum was built at the top of the Fourvière Hill, the settlement's original forum became open. This prime real estate was at the second highest elevation in Lyon and located at the symbolic meeting of the *cardo* and *decumanus.* On this auspicious site were built the town's theatre, odeon, and an adjacent plaza that incorporated the northern porticoes of the original forum. **Figures 4.11, 4.12** Along with a forum, temple, baths, *basilica*, and tribunal – all of

[493] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 61.

[494] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 61.

which were located at the new forum – a theatre was an essential element in a complete Roman city.

The theatre and the odeon were both built on the heights of the Fourvière Hill adjacent to the forum rather than in a more traditional location at the outskirts of the settlement's boundaries. In the case of Lyon, a site below the town would have meant a much easier construction process. The lower slopes of the Fourvière Hill could have been used to support the entirety of the theatre in the Hellenic manner. Instead materials were carried up the 300-metre hill, a hill that caused medieval Lyonnaise to abandon the site to avoid the daily trip down to retrieve fresh water after the Roman aqueducts fell into disrepair. The siting of Lyon's theatre and odeon in alignment with each other along the *cardo* served as an architectural explanation of Roman values to visitors as they approached the town's sacred centre, the forum. The deliberate clustering of the structures that housed educational, artistic, and political commentary open to all citizens, albeit in seats tiered along the lines of social classes, put one of the 'benefits' of accepting Roman rule on prominent display. One of the 'benefits' of accepting Roman rule was the potential to rise into the educated elite class with its enviable lifestyle.

It was in the wealthier centres – areas that were more Romanised – that structures for public shows and spectacles like theatres and amphitheatres were built.[495] Lyon's theatre, odeon, and later amphitheatre "were clearly the result of the intensive Romanisation of the colony".[496] The appearance of a theatre indicated a high status for any Roman settlement. The theatres at the Gallic towns of Arles and Lyon were among the earliest permanent or stone-built theatres in the provinces. Like the forum-basilica form that developed in Transalpine Gaul and was refined in

[495] J. F. Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260 (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 148-149. pp. 148-149.

[496] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. p. 149.

the Three Gauls, the Gallic theatres at Arles and Lyon actually derived from a type developed in Campania rather than Rome itself.[497]

The theatre at Lyon sat 10,700 spectators but may have originally have been smaller.[498, 499] **Figure 4.13** The theatre measured 108 metres in diameter, placing it between the smaller theatres at Arles and Orange and the larger one at Vienne – the other major theatres in Gaul.[500] Lyon's theatre had the standard four parts seen in Roman theatres: the *cavea*, the orchestra, the entry corridors, and the stage. Lyon's theatre was oriented so that its *cavea*, where the majority of spectators sat, faced east. The construction of the theatre used both Greek and Roman traditions. Both the theatre and odeon had walled plazas to their 'front'. **Figure 4.12** Following the Greek tradition, the hill was utilised in the theatre's structure. In the Roman tradition, two galleries of twenty-five vaults each and a set of radiating, concentric walls also supported the theatre. Like the theatre at Vienne, it primarily consisted of two floors or *maeniana* separated by a wall. The first floor of the theatre, like at Orange and Arles, had twenty rows of seats or *praecinctio* and a flagstone walkway.[501] The second floor, which today has collapsed, probably had ten rows of seats and an upper walkway.[502]

In keeping with Lyon's role as a model for the rest of the provinces, the theatre at Lyon was lavishly finished. The theatre's lower tiers were veneered in white stone. **Figure 4.13** The pavement of the orchestra was particularly elaborate and showed to advantage against the clean white stone of the theatre's lower tiers. A tripartite palate of grey granite, green cipolin, and pink marble was used for the geometric

[497] Ward-Perkins. p. 12.

[498] Burdy. p. 102.

[499] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 18. There is archaeological evidence that the theatre's capacity was expanded under Hadrian.

[500] Arles – 102 metres, Orange – 103 metres, Vienne – 129 metres

[501] Wuilleumier. p. 63.

[502] Wuilleumier. p. 63

mosaic of the orchestra. The elaborate floor treatment continued in the upper tiers with the *balteus*, or upper walkway, which was finished in green cipolin. The four 'senatorial' tiers above the *balteus* were also done in the green cipolin,[503] differentiating them from the white lower tiers. The expense of the finish of the 'senatorial' seating in the theatre of Lyon points to the importance, or perhaps self-importance, of the Roman notable population of Lyon. The architecturally differentiated seating also suggests an adherence to Roman class distinctions. The northeast side entrance to the theatre is the best preserved and gives evidence of marble cladding on the fourteen-metre-high walls that remain.[504] While the exterior finish of the theatre may not have been as elaborate as the interior, the finish was to a high standard.

The theatre's impressive curtain system can be reconstructed from the remains of the curtain pit. Three levels of blocks of stone with two square holes each were used to guide a pole and receive a counterweight which balanced the pole. In total, there were fifteen poles that supported a horizontal beam from which the curtains hung. When the curtain was raised, the fabric would wind around drums that were rotated via weights. The entire, sophisticated system was controlled by two main ropes that were wound around a drum located at the far north end of the curtain pit.[505] The theatre was not only elaborately decorated but also employed the latest technology in theatre production, technology that was probably imported from Rome. In addition to the play being performed, the theatre also showcased the advantages to be gained from becoming Roman, the technological wonders and wealth of the Empire.

[503] Burdy. pp. 102-103.

[504] Burdy. p. 103.

[505] Burdy. p. 103.

Under the Emperor Hadrian, an odeon was erected just to the south of the theatre and a new sanctuary to Cybele was built just to the west.[506] Odeons were associated with the elite as the lectures and musical performances they hosted catered to an educated and high-ranking audience.[507] The building of an odeon marked Lyon as not only a town of local importance but of importance within the larger sphere of the Empire. Odeons were a Greek importation and appeared less frequently in Roman cities than in their Greek counterparts. It was the Emperor Domitian (r. 81 – 96 A.D.) and then the Emperor Trajan (r. 98 – 117 A.D.) who commissioned the first and second odeons built in Rome. Throughout the Roman world only twenty odeons are known, with only two appearing in Gaul. In addition to the odeon at Lyon, there was also an odeon at Vienne, mother city to Lyon's founders.[508]

Lyon's odeon was built in the first century A.D.[509] and could seat 3,000 spectators.[510] The odeon's *cavea* measured seventy-three metres in diameter, making it nearly identical in size to the odeon in Vienne. There were twenty-three tiers with the upper seven tiers of seating supported by vaults. Just as in the theatre, the Senatorial seating was differentiated architecturally. The three oversized 'Senatorial' tiers were separated from the *cavea* or lower levels of seating by a marble handrail. **Figure 4.13** Those in the seats above would have a clear view of those 'Romans' sitting in the reserved tiers of seats.

Like the theatre, Lyon's odeon was primarily accessed from the west. **Figure 4.14** The central door and the two outermost doors served as the free entrances leading to the *summa cavea,* the highest tiers of seating. The remaining two entrances had

[506] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum, p. 18.

[507] Burdy. p. 102.

[508] Burdy. p. 103.

[509] Péchoux. p. 318.

[510] Burdy. p. 102.

cashiers' desks and led to the lower tiers where those with entrance tokens, or *tessères,* sat.[511] The central entrance had an impressive double staircase built on vaults.[512] The width of the odeon's surrounding wall, which measured six and a half metres thick, indicates that the odeon was roofed in tiles.[513]

The finish of the odeon's orchestra floor was even more elaborate than that of the theatre. The mosaic pavement in the orchestra was imported from as far away as Italy, Greece, and Egypt – the expensive imported décor indicated the class of patron. **Figure 4.14** A polychromatic mosaic of rectangles, squares, circles, lozenges and triangles was worked in red, pink, peach, white or yellow, and pink or violet marble from Carrera and Sienna, grey granite and grey 'senite' granite from Italy, green porphyry from Greece, and red porphyry from Egypt.[514]

Crossroads & Thoroughfares

Lyon's hilltop site was covered in a network of streets and stairways, many of which were narrow and enclosed by high facades.[515] There were two main approaches to Lyon's forum from its city gates. **Figure 4.7** The first followed the Rue d'Aquitaine from the Aquitaine Gate to connect with Lyon's *decumanus*, and the second followed the Cardo Minor from the St. Just Gate. The Rue d'Aquitaine route was ideal for carriages and was one of the few thoroughfares in Lyon that was wide and flat enough for carriages and carts. The Cardo Minor route was better suited for pedestrian travel and was ideally suited for lingering with portico-lined shops and several pleasant minor plazas that accessed Lyon's theatre and odeon.

[511] Burdy. p. 102.

[512] Burdy. p. 102.

[513] Burdy. p. 102.

[514] Burdy. p. 103.

[515] 'Une Ruelle Encaissée - 1er Siècle Avant - 3e Siècle Après J.-C.' (unpublished Placard presented at the Parc Archéologique de Fourvière, Lyon, France, 2014).

In addition to the imperial residence and sanctuary, the Tiberian building campaign also saw roads widened, porticoes added, and sewers built to coincide with the installation of the Gier aqueduct.[516] The addition of porticoes to the main avenues of the town, like the porticoes added to Ostia's *decumanus*, marked the town's role as a major 'Roman' city, built to showcase Roman urban life for the entire colony.

Cardo

Lyon's *cardo*, discovered by E.C. Martin-Daussigny in 1865, measured five metres in width with a sidewalk of two metres running along the east side.[517] William L. MacDonald classifies 'thoroughfares' as those streets that typically measure nine metres or more in width,[518] but Lyon's hilltop site prohibited wide thoroughfares. Increased width is often an indication of a street's use in ceremonial ritual, and

> *streets were one of the main arenas for public celebration of Imperial Cult, because of their potential for processions and enactments in front of large numbers of people. Streets were truly 'public' space, accessible to all.*[519]

In addition to a width that could accommodate carriages, important routes, like the sacred axes of the *cardo* and *decumanus,* of a Roman town could be identified by

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[516] Burdy. p. 107.

[517] Wuilleumier, Fouilles de Fourvière, À Lyon. p. 22.

[518] According to MacDonald, "the minimum requirement for a street to be a thoroughfare is that it connect a main gate with a cardinal plaza." MacDonald's thoroughfare comparison lists the narrowest thoroughfares at Djemila at 6/7 metres and Ephesus, Embolos at 8/9 metres and the widest at Antioch at 29 metres. MacDonald's guide to categories of Roman streets of which numbers 2-6 regularly appear as thoroughfares:

1. The pavement meets the walls of its flanking buildings directly.

2. Sidewalks appear on one or both sides of the pavement.

3. One side of the street has covered porticoes, each no more than a block long, carried on columns or piers and interposed between the pavement and the buildings.

4. The same as type 3, but with porticoes on both sides of the street.

5. The same as type 3, but with a continuous colonnade at least several blocks long.

6. The same as type 5, but with colonnades on both sides.

MacDonald, II. pp. 33, 41.

[519] Roman Working Lives and Urban Living, ed. by Ardle MacMahon and J. Price (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005). p. 7.

their public amenities – paving, sidewalks, porticoes, triumphal arches, etc. The public nature of the amenities associated with important thoroughfares matched the public nature of the activities they hosted.

Rue d'Aquitaine and *Decumanus*

The Rue d'Aquitaine led from the city gate to a major crossroads. The major crossroads connected the Rue d'Aquitaine with the Rue du Forum that continued to the forum, the Rue de l'Arche du Théatre that connected it to theatre and odeon, and the *decumanus* that continued across the river and linked the city with the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls. **Figures 4.7, 4.11** The Rue d'Aquitane effectively connected the city gate and both the new and old *fora* sites. In addition to being wide enough to accommodate carriages along its entire length, large flagstone paving also indicated its importance. While the Rue d'Aquitaine does not meet Macdonald's rules for determining Roman thoroughfares as it lacks porticoes and sidewalks,[520] in compact and steep Lyon it was one of the few streets wide enough to drive a carriage down. In Lyon the job of 'thoroughfare' had to be split between the carriageable Rue d'Aquitaine and the pedestrian Cardo Minor.

Cardo Minor and Crossroads Plaza

[520] MacDonald, II. pp. 33, 41.

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6. The same as type 5, but with colonnades on both sides.

The Cardo Minor ran from the St. Just Gate to Lyon's odeon and theatre before ending below a triangular crossroads that functioned as a minor plaza – and was on the site of Lyon's original forum. Approaching the odeon from the south, the street was lined with a number of porticoed shops on the west side of the street. The portico consisted of columns spaced 5.50 metres apart and access was from the north.[521] **Figures 4.11, 4.15** The store quarter located behind the odeon consisted of fourteen stores stretching over a length of sixty-five metres.[522] The stores were of various sizes and show signs of successive renovations.[523] As nine building dates have been determined for the fourteen stores,[524] the stores were not built together but were built a few at a time. Around the time the theatre was built, a twelve metre wide space was levelled and terraced with a retaining wall to the west of the shop street, and at the base of the back wall were built six square stores.[525] At the beginning of the second century A.D., a second block and portico were built, extending the development to the south and two metres lower.[526] **Figure 4.11: a**

With two levels, the street level and the shop level, layers of visibility and traffic were created. The higher portico included a covered area that encouraged stopping for conversation and trade apart from the busy street and plaza below. **Figure 4.12** The portico fronting the stepped row of shops also provided an excellent vantage point for watching the comings and goings from the odeon and the theatre, as well as an access route to the forum. This secondary street-portico form with its excellent vantage point over a main route to the forum would have functioned in much the same way the early Bouleuterion courtyard did in Athens and the secondary *fora* surrounding the main forum did in Ostia. The porticoes became a

[521] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 67.

[522] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 67.

[523] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 67.

[524] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 67.

[525] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 67.

[526] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 67.

stopping point apart but with a clear view of a main processional route. And in Lyon the topography only aided in the success of the side street-portico duo.

When it was built the Sanctuary to Cybele displaced some of the shops along the west of the Cardo Minor.[527] **Figure 4.11: c, e** This *insula* or city block northwest of the crossroads plaza was a workshop quarter.[528] One of its streets had a small water tank with a system of arcades through which water flowed into a basin that - it has been suggested - may have been a fish pond or for the use of industrial tools.[529] The block was defined by the Rue d'Aquitaine to the north, the narrow street along the sanctuary to Cybele to the south, the flagstone street from the triangular plaza to the east, and the street that served as access to the basilica *insula* to the west.[530] Along the narrow front street was access to the industrial pond or fishpond previously mentioned as well as a by-pass to the city sewer.[531] In addition to the water and sewer access, finds of small terra-cotta statues suggest the workshops belonged to ceramists.[532] The find of a medallion showing Cybele astride a lion suggests a trade in devotional artefacts near the Cybele sanctuary.[533] Along with the old forum and its portico-lined streets, this *insula* of workshops probably formed the core of early Lyon and later adapted its wares to the growing city and the new Sanctuary of Cybele.

The Cardo Minor as a defined road terminated at the Sanctuary of Cybele, but pedestrian traffic continued in a series of irregular crossroads plazas. The final triangular crossroads plaza paved in large flagstones connected access to Lyon's old and new *fora* sites. Several other roads led from the triangular crossroads, including

[527] Burdy. p. 103.

[528] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 68.

[529] Burdy. p. 103.

[530] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 68.

[531] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 68.

[532] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 68.

[533] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 68.

a narrower street that led to the Sanctuary of Cybele. Finally, another smaller flagged road, part of the Rue de l'Arche du Théatre, connected with the back curve of the theatre.[534] A line of porticoed shops from the original forum ran along the north side and remained in use after the building of the Sanctuary of Cybele. The plaza hosted access to the theatre as well as featuring a number of public amenities including fountains and latrines.[535] From this plaza was access to a large staircase, complete with sewer, that gave access to the side entrances of the theatre and odeon.[536] At a widened area near the bottom were public lavatories finished in red concrete.[537] **Figure 4.16**

Processional Route

Sacred boundaries were often the most important feature if not the only physical feature of pre-Roman, Gallic sanctuaries. In addition to the Roman-style monumentalisation of sanctuaries, Roman civic rituals also added to the delineation of sacred space in a uniquely Gallo-Roman way. The civic procession was one of the rituals that was key in delimiting the sacred points within a city and its surrounding territory. The processional route between the city of Lyon and the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls connected the religious complex with the town's principal civic complex, the forum, and both were important locations in the Imperial Cult. **Figure 4.2** The processional route also passed through and by the key civic forms that defined the city as 'Roman'. The processional route outlined is supported by topography, built evidence, and the efforts of twentieth century archaeologists.

Lyon's *decumanus* was the access route between the Three Gauls sanctuary and Lyon's centre. The route that began with the *decumanus* transitioned from retaining walls to natural topography as it left the city and approached the sanctuary. There is

[534] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 65.

[535] Burdy. p. 103.

[536] Burdy. p. 103.

[537] Burdy. p. 103.

evidence for this portion of the processional route in the accounts of the Christian martyrs of 177 A.D. The martyrs were thought to have been housed in the urban cohort's barrack or in the nearby neighbourhood and processed along the *decumanus* to the amphitheatre at the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls,[538] suggesting this route as the official processional route between the city centre and the extra-urban sanctuary. Today there is still a sacred walk through the Rosary Gardens between the Basilique Notre Dame de Fourvière, which is on the site of the former Augustan forum, and the lower town and river below. **Figure 4.17** From the lower town, the processional route had to cross the Saône River to reach the sanctuary. Audin suggests that there are "strong reasons to believe" that access to the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls was via the bridge located on the site of today's Passarelle Saint-Vincent.[539] Across the river, the road followed the natural topography up the southern slope of the Croix-Rousse hill to the amphitheatre.[540]

Architectural boundaries and constructs, in conjunction with civic ritual, gave the clearest and most understandable definition of proper ritual and *cosmos* to the widest audience. Through the building of new sanctuaries and new urban centres, and their attendant ritual activity, Rome completed the Romanisation of the new Gallic provinces and their gods. Communal rituals like processions between Lyon and the sanctuary of the Three Gauls aided in the Romanisation process by connecting and defining Gallo-Roman sacred sites, both old and new.

Founding: Rituals

Sanctuary of the Three Gauls

[538] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 71.

[539] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 71.

[540] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 71.

Between 14-16 B.C. Augustus carried out a campaign of organisation in the Three Gauls that included founding and embellishing cities. Augustus named Lugdunum as the capital of Gaul, and Augustus himself took up residence in the town. In addition to Augustus, a number of notables of the day followed and took up residence in the new capital, including Agrippa and his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus.[541] Following upheaval caused by census-taking, the cult complex of the Tres Galliae was founded in 12 B.C.[542] The imperial prince Drusus, stepson of Augustus, was associated with the original founding.[543] The contemporary testimony of Dio references a local festival already in practice at the site. The festival was used as the pretext for gathering the leaders of the three Gallic provinces in an effort to calm the tensions caused by the census.[544] The sanctuary was established at this gathering, and the re-invented festival grafted the imperial cult onto the existing Gallic festival. An open-air altar – a typically Gallic sanctuary focal point – was built at the founding, and statues of Gallic tribal leaders, an amphitheatre, and a temple were later added to the sanctuary. **Figure 4.18** Hatt also compares the layout of the sanctuary to that of native Gallic sanctuaries;

> *The sanctuary area contained large porticoes laid out near a sacred spring, the main temple and a large amphitheatre – a layout similar to that of the great urban sanctuaries of native type like Augst or the sanctuary of Mars Lenus at Trier. All the evidence, therefore, points to a policy of merging the religious structures and rituals of Gaul into the official cult of Rome.*[545]

The Celtic sanctuary at Roquepertuse was also built into a hillside site, and like at Roquepertuse, the processional journey was part of the ritual involved in visiting the sanctuary. From the first meeting on the 1 August 12 B.C. until the third

[541] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 16.

[542] Woolf. p. 216.

[543] Woolf. p. 216.

[544] Duncan Fishwick, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, Etudes Préliminaires Aux Religions Orientales Dans l'Empire Romain, t. 108 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1987). p. 97.

[545] Hatt. p. 244.

century, delegates of the sixty Gallic cities met each year for a council and festival at the sanctuary.[546]

Like the festival, the organisation of the priesthood of the cult was not a direct derivative of Roman cult organisation but an amalgamation of traditions. Woolf notes that

> *its organization strongly suggests that the immediate models were Greek provincial assemblies, such as the koinon of Asia, modified, principally in matters of ritual, by Rome.*[547]

The chief of each of the Gallic tribes held the title High Priest of the Imperial Cult, and each chief was represented by a statue within the sanctuary.[548] These statues were gifted to each chief by his Three Gauls delegates each year.[549] The installation of these statues on their pedestal each year was probably incorporated into the proceedings surrounding the festival and council meeting. The local elite whole-heartedly adopted both the sanctuary and the priesthood, embracing the "opportunity to compete for prestige on a wider stage than any *civitas* could offer".[550] In 220 A.D. the councillors held what scholars would later call the first French parliament,[551] giving modern France roots in a Gallo-Roman sanctuary.

In addition to having the first sanctuary dedicated to the Imperial cult in Gaul, the connection between Lyon and the Emperor was also evidenced by the unique cult worshipped at the Altar of the Three Gauls. Rather than the customary *divus* or

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[546] Burdy. p. 98.

[547] Woolf. p. 217.

[548] 'Le Conseil Des Gaules' (unpublished Banner presented at the Musée Gallo-Romain de Lyon-Fourvière, Lyon, France, 2014).

[549] 'Le Conseil Des Gaules'.

[550] Woolf, p. 217.

[551] Burdy. p. 98.

divine dedication, the cult was addressed to the living emperor Augustus.[552] According to Audin, the Federal Sanctuary gave the people of Lyon a privileged identity;

> *for almost a century the people of Lyon considered themselves as privileged subjects, and it is precisely at this time that the coins minted in the town for the whole of Gaul depicted on their reverse side the image of this altar to Rome and Augustus, framed by two columns, bearers of Victories which were the explicit symbol of the attachment of the Gauls to the Emperor.*[553]

The sanctuary was located at the *condate* or junction of the Saône and Rhône Rivers on the Croix-Rousse Hill. The new sanctuary at the outskirts of Lyon's territory was founded in alliance with an existing sanctuary based around a sacred spring. The new sanctuary was modelled on the one dedicated to Fortuna at Praeneste outside Rome, which was also located on a steep hillside site. **Figure 4.20** Despite this Roman inspiration, the sanctuary also echoed that of other large-scale native sanctuaries in both its orientation and layout. Jean-Jacques Hatt makes use of an excellent metaphor for this phenomenon of conscious alliance between existing Celtic sacred traditions and new Roman structures, comparing the process to "grafting rather than transplanting, the Roman cult of Augustus and the goddess Roma being ingeniously grafted on to the traditions, customs and institutions of Gaul".[554]

Figure 4.18 The outer limit of the sanctuary or the boundary of the plaza measured an impressive 120 metres by 80 metres. The plaza featured a double-bayed *cryptoporticus* of six to seven metres high and twelve metres wide that ran along the north, south and west sides of the plaza, in an arrangement like that seen at Praeneste. **Figure 4.20** The only depiction of the entire sanctuary that has been

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[552] Duncan Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 62 (1972), 46–52. pp. 46-47.

[553] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum, p. 17.

[554] Jean-Jacques Hatt, Celts and Gallo-Romans, Ancient Civilizations (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970). p. 244.

discovered was on a medallion found in the Rhône valley, but the altar was featured on coins minted in Lyon. **Figure 4.19**

Altar

When the sanctuary was founded, the open-air altar was the main focus of the sanctuary. The sanctuaries of Pergamum and Nicomedia also focused on altars,[555] giving Lyon's sanctuary Hellenic precedents as well as Gallic. The altar of Rome and Augustus is known from original fragments and representations on coins. **Figure 4.21** Its layout was similar to that of the Ara Pacis,[556] which was also symmetrically-framed and decorated with laurel garlands. **Figure 4.22** From the coins, the altar was a baseless, solid rectangle wider than it was tall. The shape of the altar was not entirely Roman in style but an amalgamation of styles. Audin and Hatt suggest that it was a modification of a traditional native structure, a kind of portico like the one at Roquepertuse. The orientation of the window-like opening formed by the altar with the columns on either side was probably such that the sun appeared between the two columns on the day of the annual celebration (1st August) – an arrangement presumably of native origin. The 1st of August was both the date of the great Celtic religious ceremony of Lugnasad and the day on which honour was paid to the *genius Augusti*".[557, 558] Combined with the existing festival, this arrangement also lends credence to Audin's suggestion that the Fourvière Hill site, opposite the new

[555] Duncan Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls', The Journal of Roman Studies, 62 (1972), 46–52. p. 46.

[556] Wuilleumier. p. 62.

[557] Jean-Jacques Hatt, Celts and Gallo-Romans, Ancient Civilizations (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970). p. 244.

[558] The sanctuary of Roquepertuse consisted of an open-faced gallery, either double or single columned, that stood at the top of a series of manmade terraces. This arrangement, particularly the stoa-like qualities of the gallery, and some of the stone working techniques suggest Greek influence. James F. D. Frakes, 'Framing Public Life: The Portico in Roman Gaul' (Columbia University, 2002). pp. 120-122.

imperial sanctuary, originally hosted a chronometric[559] sanctuary dedicated to Lug.[560]

The altar was adorned with an oak wreath and laurels. The oak wreath was perhaps the *corona civica* or civic crown, associated with the emperor beginning with Augustus. **Figure 4.21** As early as 27 B.C., Augustus is associated with laurels, victory, and a crown of oak as "Dio expressly states that the laurels and crown of oak were decreed to Augustus".[561] According to Dio, Octavian erected a statue of Victory at the altar of Victoria at the *Curia Iulia* at its dedication in 29 B.C.,[562] establishing a clear connection between Augustus and Victory. Thus, the precedent of including a statue of Victory to the side of an imperial altar has its precedent in Rome in the *Curia Iulia,* which was begun by Caesar himself in 44 B.C. [563] According to Fishwick, "there can no longer be any question that, on the evidence of the coins, the monument bore a group of symbols that collectively incorporate the major elements of Augustan ideology".[564] The tripod and globe shown on depictions of the altar may represent the awards of games. While the interpretation of these figures remains unresolved,[565] the amphitheatre and known popularity of the games held there would seem to corroborate this interpretation. In addition to this imagery, the altar may have also portrayed the names of sixty Gallic cities, each of which was also represented by statues placed throughout the sanctuary.[566] The imagery used on the Altar of the Three Gauls was expressly imperial, establishing a connection between the cult of the emperor and city of Lyon from early in the

[559] occupied with the measurement of time

[560] Fishwick, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. p. 112.

[561] Fishwick, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. p. 111.

[562] Fishwick, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. p. 111.

[563] Fishwick, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. p. 111.

[564]See Fishwick, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. pp. 106-110. for a discussion on the development of Augustan imagery and symbolism.

[565] Fishwick, The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. p. 107.

[566] Wuilleumier. pp. 62-63.

empire. And the twin statues of victory overlooking Lyon established the emperor as the protector of the city of Lyon.

As well as the statues of their tribal leader, the layout that echoed that of native sanctuaries gave the site a familiar appeal to the Gallo-Roman delegates making yearly pilgrimage to the sanctuary. This familiarity could have contributed to an identification with and a rapid acceptance of the sanctuary and its cult of the emperor, and Roman culture and rule in general. The late monumentalisation of the federal sanctuary in the form of a temple suggests that the open, altar-centric Gallic layout proved successful.

Temple

The site of the Temple of the Three Gauls is as yet undiscovered, although written evidence suggests the temple stood in close proximity to the Altar of the Three Gauls.[567] The Temple of the Three Gauls was most likely added to the sanctuary in 121 A.D., and the focus of the sanctuary then switched from the altar to the temple.[568] Hadrian's journey through Gaul to Britain in 121 A.D. makes a probable candidate for the dedication of the temple. The public works carried out in Lyon under Hadrian's reign included; the enlargement of the theatre, possible enlargements to the forum, and the replacing of the columns supporting the Victory statues at the sanctuary. The columns were replaced with imported Egyptian Syenite and add support to the argument that the sanctuary's temple was built during Hadrian's reign. Hadrian's known interest in both the *divi* and Roma also support his reign for the construction of the temple at the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls.[569] It was under Hadrian, patron of the temple of Roma and Venus in Rome, that Roma was first added to the official Roman Pantheon as "a personification of

[567] Duncan Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls', The Journal of Roman Studies, 62 (1972), 46–52. p. 46.

[568] Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls'. p. 47.

[569] Duncan Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls', The Journal of Roman Studies, 62 (1972), 46–52, p. 49.

the city rather than a Greek tutelary divinity that became the object of rites".[570] This addition to the pantheon solidified the image of the emperor as the protector of the city that Augustus had begun.

Later the changing titles of the provincial priests attest to the altar regaining its position as the focus of the sanctuary at the end of the second century A.D.[571] Gallo-Roman religion in general followed a trend of returning to its roots at this time, with names of Gallic gods appearing in inscriptions with increasing frequency. The use of the altar as the main focus of the sanctuary for over a century as well as the relatively late construction date of the temple also suggest vestiges of traditional Gallic open-air rites.

Amphitheatre

As mentioned in the discussion of the Forum Boarium, Rome elaborated on the individual patronage seen in the Poikile Stoa, and this system of individual patronage was particularly common in colonial cities. As Drinkwater explains,

> *The pressing need to accommodate those who governed and administered the civitas (which required, at minimum, some place of assembly for the decurions, and some form of central civitas-archive) was neatly combined with the traditional desire of these same aristocrats to advertise their wealth and their power in the community by acts of conspicuous spending, particularly gestures of public munificence. Hence building-projects in the civitas-capitals received the lion's share of private generosity…We may also imagine that the rivalry involved was not confined to individuals within a civitas, but eventually spread to set civitas against civitas in the adornment of central show-places, intended to rival, if not outstrip, those Mediterranean communities upon which they were modelled. The civitas-capital bloomed, but the development resulted in such remarkable uniformity of general concept and individual detail that in the end one would not perhaps be*

[570] Duncan Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls', The Journal of Roman Studies, 62 (1972), 46–52. p. 50.

[571] Duncan Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls', The Journal of Roman Studies, 62 (1972), 46–52, p. 52.

surprised to discover that there was some official blueprint which was made available to the civitas-magistrates.[572]

The most monumental example of this tradition of individual patronage was the amphitheatre built at the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls by a Santon noble during the reign of Tiberius. **Figure 4.23** In 19 A.D. Caius Julius Rufus, with the help of his son, built a medium-sized amphitheatre to the west of the sanctuary.[573] The sanctuary's amphitheatre is the oldest amphitheatre in Gaul.[574] Access to the arena was via very large doors to the north-west and south-east. The amphitheatre had four one-metre wide *gradins* or low ledges that were each marked by the name of one of the sixty cities of the Council of Gaul. The four *gradins* were reached by four *gradins* narrowed into steps.[575] In addition to the participation in the ritual of the yearly festival, the provision of designated space for each tribe aided in the integration of the Gallic elite into Roman culture.

Between 130 and 136 A.D., the amphitheatre at the sanctuary was enlarged by C. Iulius Celsus to include more seating.[576] In addition to the individual patronage seen on the amphitheatre, the structure was also elaborated upon by the Emperor Hadrian. After settling in Lyon in 121 A.D., Hadrian enlarged the amphitheatre, adding an exterior portico.[577] This portico added a sheltered gathering space to the sanctuary that was, with the exception of the amphitheatre and temple, entirely *en plein air*. The last arcades of this portico stood until they were pulled down during the French Revolution for the feudalism they represented.[578] The amphitheatre fell

[572] J. F. Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260 (London: Croom Helm, 1983). p. 143.

[573] Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls'. p. 51. See original dedication inscription ILTG 217.

[574] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 75.

[575] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 75.

[576] Duncan Fishwick, 'The Temple of the Three Gauls', The Journal of Roman Studies, 62 (1972), 46–52. pp. 50-51.

[577] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 75.

[578] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 75.

out of use after the end of the third century as the spread of Christianity saw the pagan sanctuary fall into disuse.[579]

The gladiatorial games put on by the priesthood of the sanctuary eventually "escalated in cost to the point where the emperor and the senate had to intervene to ensure the priesthood did not become prohibitively expensive".[580] The need for imperial intervention into the gladiatorial games held in a provincial amphitheatre "testifies to the success, not the failure, of the cult".[581] The sanctuary transformed the Condate neighbourhood from "a very modest Celtic market town for those who plied the Saône, into the religious capital of the Gauls".[582] **Figure 4.2** Up the Saône River from the Condate, before the merging point with the Rhône, was "a very extensive settlement of craftsmen : potters, glass-blowers, and bronze workers" in operation since the time of Augustus. The Imperial Sanctuary hosted enough activity for shops, houses, and industry to grow up just outside its boundaries, as often happened outside Roman forts. The faubourgs of medieval market towns continued this urban trend of markets forming at the outskirts of official boundaries. According to Audin, "the influence of this settlement was so far-reaching that it would not be a distortion of the facts to bestow on it the title of industrial capital".[583]

Both the sanctuary and the rituals associated with it, including games and processions, played an important role in the acceptance of Roman culture and the success of Lyon. The Imperial Sanctuary served as a centre of education in proper Roman ritual. According to Woolf,

[579] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 75.

[580] Woolf. p. 217.

[581] Woolf. p. 217.

[582] Audin. p. 16.

[583] Audin. p. 16.

> *By accident or design, Rome provided the Gauls with several models of proper cult. The cult performed at the Altar of Lyon is an obvious case, as an act of worship in which the most influential members of Gallic communities participated, before returning to their cities where many held local priesthoods of Rome and Augustus. Lyon was also the focus for a parallel set of cults, those conducted by the conventus civium Romanorum consistentum. These associations of Roman citizens are attested in a number of Gallic communities in the first century AD, when they seem to have been catered not so much for newly enfranchised local aristocrats as for Roman citizens from elsewhere in the empire who were resident in Gaul. Both at Lyon and in their host communities, these Roman residents exemplified the proper organization and conduct of Roman religion.*[584]

The Sanctuary of the Three Gauls was the first truly Gallo-Roman sanctuary –

> *the first of its kind in the West, a cult centre dedicated to the imperial cult and organized on wholly Roman lines, with an altar and aristocratic priests who performed sacrifices and gave gladiatorial games as a public service.*[585]

The sanctuary at the confluence of the Rhône and Saone provided a place for the conversion of the last holdout, that of religion, in the transition to a true Gallo-Roman self-identity. From Lyon, the ideal of a Gallo-Roman city was then disseminated to the rest of the province.

Festival of the Three Gauls

The sanctuary outside of Lyon served as the perfect teaching ground to showcase proper Roman cult and ritual. The yearly council meeting of the sixty Gallic tribes with its associated festival provided an ideal audience; representatives from each of the sixty member cities, Gallic chieftains, entourages, local notables, Roman elite, and members of the local community. The yearly council meeting and festival were centred around the 1 August, the day on which the sun would align with the altar at the sanctuary – just as it had done at the Gallic sanctuary previously on the site. The festival would have included elaborate gladiatorial games, a procession – perhaps with the statues of the Gallic chieftains on display, the formal erection of statues of

[584] Woolf. p. 222.

[585] Woolf. p. 216.

the Gallic tribal leaders, sacrifices at the stand-alone altar, and finally, feasting. The festival must have lasted several days, if not more, since many of the delegates would have travelled long distances.

The amphitheatre provided the only formal seating for the events surrounding the yearly festival – the majority of the sanctuary and the rites performed there were open to the elements. The openness of the sanctuary would have allowed for clear observation by non-participants, albeit from below as the sanctuary occupied the crest of a hill. The festival involved not only the Lyonnais but also Gallic leaders from all of the major centres in the province, allowing proper ritual observance to be learned in the capital of Lyon and spread throughout Gaul.

Lyon: model city

According to Drinkwater,

> *the civitas-capital was an artificial creation, designed to promote the greater efficiency of civitas-government, and to act as a showpiece of, and hence an encouragement towards Romanisation.*[586]

Drinkwater asserts that the Gallic *civitas*-capitals were artificial creations run by Romans for Romans, with Romans always associating back to Rome rather than giving their loyalties to their Gallic home. While this left the *civitas*-capital vulnerable to the third century crisis, and indeed killed or damaged into oblivion many of them, the stamp of Rome also gave the means to rise again to the status of city, as Lyon did in both the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.

According to Woolf, "the rise of Lyon to effective capital of the Three Gauls was due largely to the success of the neighbouring sanctuary".[587] The location of Lyon, along

[586] Drinkwater, Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260. p. 158.

[587] Woolf. p. 217.

two natural waterways and after the construction of the Agrippan road network at a major crossroads, also contributed to its success. Even with Lyon's location along major communication and trade routes, Drinkwater insists the city was not originally intended to be any sort of epicentre.[588] However, the city became not only the capital of the Three Gauls but a model for other cities to follow. The Gallo-Roman sanctuary and its adopted festival were key in the spread of the Roman model that Lyon represented.

The expense and effort expended to build Lyon as a model of Rome is apparent when studying Lyon's public buildings. According to Audin, the peak population of Lyon was probably around 40,000.[589] Both the theatre and the amphitheatre were enlarged to include more seating at some point in their history. The theatre, with a capacity of 10,700, could accommodate more than a quarter of the residents of the city. The emphasis and expense placed on providing structures for public entertainment was Roman in nature. Rome was unrivalled in its festival calendar and its spectacle and entertainment facilities. The effort involved in providing the physical trappings of 'Roman' life, including a theatre, odeon, circus, and baths among others, to a relatively small city on a difficult site argues for Drinkwater's assertion that the *civitas*-capital was an 'artificial creation'.

However, the incorporation of existing cult sites and building styles argues against Lyon being an artificial town only for Romans and reliant on Rome for its organisation. Lyon's historical, Gallic context can be traced in its urban growth patterns. The principal civic complex, the principal religious complex, and at least portions of the city's principal thoroughfares all pre-existed Roman rule in some form, and traces of this Gallic context can be seen. In both the case of the Sanctuary of Lug and the Festival of the Three Gauls, there may have been an ulterior motive

[588] J. F. Drinkwater, 'Lugdunum: "Natural Capital" of Gaul?', Britannia, Vol. 6 (1975), 133–40. pp. 138-139.

[589] Audin, Retrouver Lugdunum = In search of Lugdunum = Auf den Spuren von Lugdunum. p. 24.

of appeasing the local populace. However, what emerged was something that was neither Roman nor Gallic. Both Lyon and the Federal Sanctuary were truly Gallo-Roman – based upon Roman ideals but firmly rooted in their Gallic context.

In Lyon, the urban forms that were first fully developed in the ancient Greek city were devolved even further from the Greek patterns. The forms that were essential to performing the correct Roman rituals, and the observation and learning of these rituals by non-Romans, were broken into their parts and grafted onto a pre-Roman, symbolic framework. Just as in Rome and Ostia, Lyon hosted a variety of accessible vantage points of the entrances to places were Roman notables showcased how to be Roman. In Lyon, the *stoae* were raised above the entrances, separating even further the observer from the observed and removing entirely the element of participation through mutual observance that had been crucial in the ancient Greek system. The porticoes above Lyon's theatre and odeon illustrate this perfectly.

The accessible, boundary forum dedicated to displaying Roman ritual for all comers, seen in the Forum Boarium, also became even more separated from the civic centre of the city in Lyon. The Sanctuary of the Three Gauls, at the edge of the city's territory outside its boundary proper, served as the entry forum for many Gauls – their first experience of the Roman system. The essentials of proper Roman behaviour were on formalised display at an open altar at the top of a slope and in the amphitheatre that hosted some of the most elaborate games in the entire Empire. The open altar was rife with imperial symbolism and its twin statues of victory representing the deified emperor overlooked the city across the river. The idea of being Roman was glorified in the sea of statues that represented the Gallic tribal leaders. And the amphitheatre represented the ultimate Roman notable goal – the dedication by a private individual of a largescale monument to Roman culture that would showcase one's Roman-ness in life and after death. In Lyon, active engagement in the Roman urban rituals was limited to the elite but observation of those rituals was encouraged and glorified through the separation of the forms that

encouraged observation from the sites of ritual – the haphazard Forum Boarium that originally served this purpose was devolved and formalised into birds-eye, viewing platforms and altars on high.

Conclusions

Aristotle argued that only by participation in the public realm – through politics, justice, and defence of the *polis* – could the common good be achieved. Taking the argument one step further, he contended that since the common good is inherently right, anything in exclusive support of the individual's good must be wrong.[590] The common good was at the core of the *polis*' *ethos*. The architectural forms of the *polis* developed under this philosophy. These forms hosted activities that sustained the common good by encouraging observation and empathy – not just towards those of one's own social class and gender but towards all within the society. **Figure 1.25** For the Athenians, understanding justice was particularly important for citizens, and justice was learned through observation and public participation in the *agora*'s many law courts.

The political and social connections upon which both the Athenian and Roman systems relied were forged in the public realm of the city. The correct ways in which to participate in the city and understand its order were learned by observation, as the rituals essential to the city were performed publicly. While the maintenance of order was accomplished in slightly different ways in Rome than it was in Athens, especially after the end of the republic, visual access to the most important places in the public realm was important for both cultures.

The Greeks were the first to create an architecture dedicated not to the gods or rulers but to the people of the city – the *stoa*, the open justice courts, the Bouleuterion. In this way, the Greeks were the first to disentangle public architecture from its sacred and situational roots. The Painted Stoa on the Athenian *agora* is an example of the first form type that developed to support the citizen

[590] Aristotle. Volume II, Politics, Book I.

body in its need for participation in and observation of the public realm. The stoa form accommodated the needs of first the *polis* and then the *civitas* in varied cities throughout the ancient world, and continues to do so in today's cities. In addition to repeatable architectural forms, the Greeks began to establish spatial patterns that represented the idea of the *polis*. The Greeks used strong architectural markers at the boundary to the civic space of the *agora* with the Bouleuterion, law courts, and *stoae* guarding the borders of the city's civic heart just as a city gate guarded the entrance to the city itself. These architectural forms were crucial to the *polis* system and stood guard as physical reminders of the ideals of the *polis* on all sides of the *agora*.

With the move from republic to empire, the Romans no longer required the physical setting for justice to have the same openness and permeability that the Greek city required; there was not the same need for participation by all citizens in the Roman judicial system as there had been in the Greek one. With a vast and diverse population, order and communicating what that order was became the primary need for the Roman *urbs*. The Greek form types for justice – open courtyards ringed by colonnades and open stairs with views over the public realm – were broken up and scattered at key civic and religious locations throughout the Roman city. These became vantage points from which non-Romans could observe from 'outside' the correct forms of Roman ritual performed by Roman citizens 'inside'.

In the ancient Roman city, the paths and nodes dedicated to ceremonial activity were clearly recognisable. They were differentiated from less sacred routes by their scale, location, and degree of richness. These specific visual cues could be understood by the ancient visitor to the city and were used to orient one's experience within the city. The repetition of *cardo*, *decumanus,* and forum would have been familiar to Romans anywhere in the Empire. For non-Romans, this repetition would have marked the city as different from local settlements. Due to the importance of the forum in the city's functioning, the grandest routes by

necessity served the forum, connecting it directly with the city's gates. All roads led to the forum, or in the Greek case, the *agora*.

The city gate served as the first threshold one passed to enter the ancient Greek or Roman city. Crossing this threshold was the first step in preparing to participate in the business of the forum. Often these streets catered to pedestrians with walkways and arcaded porticoes providing adaptable spaces for the many activities that made up life in the public realm. Porticoes (*stoae*) along main routes accommodated commercial activities, social activities like games and betting, the observation necessary to life in the city, and even classrooms. A visible hierarchy in the streets and public plazas of Greek and Roman cities helped users to read and understand their environment. In Greece, where all citizens charged with the duty of understanding the needs of the entire populace, this reading and understanding was more active and reciprocal. In Rome, there came a switch to a more one-sided observation – with the plebeian classes and diverse immigrants to Rome looking to the elite Romans for the correct performance of ritual essential to being 'Roman'.

The boundaries to the most important spaces in the ancient public realm were marked architecturally. In the situationally-derived cities, hero-founders were often called into service to guard civic boundaries, like the hero-founder grave at the city gate of Eretria or the grave of Theseus at the entrance to the Athenian *agora*. Boundary architecture could also be used to welcome specific populations, like the Arch of the Argentarii did in Rome's Forum Boarium. In the absence of an existing cult site, the Roman invention of the triumphal arch form type could create the required boundary through architecture – a physical portal through which one had to pass. This architectural signage increased understanding of the space and reminded the user with every visit of their identification with and ownership of that piece of the public realm. Boundary architecture could also be used to inform visitors when they were not permitted in a certain space. Examples of boundary architecture that blocked rather than welcomed can be seen in the sacred cult site

enclosures and boundary markers of the Athenian *agora*, which warned certain populations that they must go no further.

Even a newcomer to an ancient city could 'read' the point where they reached boundaries in the public realm. In addition to city gates and the Roman addition of the triumphal arch form type, there was a tradition of strongly defined edges and recognisable civic forms bracketing the 'entrances' to the most important public arenas in the city. Everything from street widths and amenities, paving and paving patterns, triumphal arches and gateways, washing basins and fountains, cult sites and sanctuary boundaries to colonnades contributed to the legibility of the ancient city. The public nature of spaces and the boundaries between public, semi-public, and private could be easily understood or 'read' by the man on the street. A clear hierarchy of space and grandeur denoted the relative importance of different routes and public spaces when symbolic order was missing or insufficient. The ancient city gave its users clear markers of distinct public and private areas. And in Rome with its increasing and diverse population, this hierarchy of space and grandeur was spread even further with an increase in secondary *fora* and secondary observation points from which to watch and learn Roman customs. **Figure 3.17** In Lyon, the hierarchy of spaces dedicated to participation versus observation became even more pronounced. **Figure 4.24**

The thresholds to public areas were clearly marked and also included transitional space – points at which to partake in rituals or pause in the move from the 'outside' to the 'inside'. The triangular shrine at the southwest corner of the Athenian *agora* that was outside the *agora*'s boundary stone provided one such space. In Rome, the basins at the entrances to the Forum Romanum served as both a boundary and a transitional space. In the colonies, transitional spaces were even more crucial as they allowed local populations to gather and observe the proper Roman ways. In Ostia, the secondary *fora* and the colonnade-lined *decumanus* served this role. **Figures 3.7, 3.4** In Lyon, the city's first forum was given over as a transitional

gathering space after the Augustan forum was built on the Fourvière Hill. **Figures 4.5, 4.6**

As early as the fourth century B.C., Aristotle maintained that two *agorae* were necessary:

> *The magistrates who deal with contracts, indictments, summonses, and the like, and those who have the care of the agora and of the city respectively, ought to be established near an agora and some public place of meeting; the neighbourhood of the traders' agora will be a suitable spot; the upper agora we devote to the life of leisure, the other is intended for the necessities of trade.*[591]

To the list of required urban forms, the Romans added a secondary forum or *fora* and transitional space at civic boundaries, whether in the form of plazas, shop arcades, or simple stairs for seating.

Learning the proper way to be 'Roman' would become an especially important factor in the success of diverse colonial cities like Lyon. After the fall of the republic, Romans did not require all citizens to participate in the assembly, and the secondary forum became not just a recommendation but a necessity. Once its population grew and became more diverse, Rome needed the Forum Boarium as a showcase of Roman ritual at its entrance. Under Vitruvius' triad of requirements for the fundamental principles of architecture,[592] secondary fora like the Forum Boarium often owed more to soundness and utility than beauty, but their contribution to the Roman town and inclusion as a form type in the 'Roman' town was vital. As a place that received visitors of all classes, the architecturally-informal Forum Boarium served as a more welcoming classroom than the Forum Romanum. Even before visitors arrived at the Forum Boarium in Rome, Rome's other gateway,

[591] Aristotle. Volume II, Politics, Book VII.

[592] "Architecture depends on Order (in Greek [Greek: taxis]), Arrangement (in Greek [Greek: diathesis]), Eurythmy, Symmetry, Propriety, and Economy (in Greek [Greek: oikonomia])." Vitruvius Pollio, *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*, New Dover ed (New York: Dover Publications, 1960). Book 1, Chapter 2, 1.

Ostia, included many transitional spaces that might serve as a visitor's first introduction to Rome.

Travelling through the ancient city, there were areas dedicated to movement as well as areas more suited for pauses and observation of the public realm. Transitional space was provided by the *stoae* that surrounded the Classical Athenian *agora* and later many of the Roman colonial *fora*. The transitional space was the space in which people gathered and stopped. The Greek *agorae* and the Roman *fora* examined featured small cult sites or gathering nodes scattered throughout large open spans, allowing for stopping points. The centres of ancient cities were created around edifices that supported observation and participation. The colonnaded shops above the theatre plaza of Lyon are an excellent example of the intermingling of public forms for pause and for movement. In Lyon, the participation that was so crucial to the Greek city was divided even further from observation. The best points of observation for the entrances to the form types so important to Roman urban life – forum, the theatre, and the odeon – became raised and separated from those entrances. While many of the entrance-markers to large public gathering areas were monumental in scale, like triumphal arches and grand boulevards, those areas within the larger public realm that were dedicated to pausing for observation and conversation were built to a human scale. The Stoic ideals of self-education and identity through observation carried through in the *stoa* and its derivatives, which are still in use as form types today.

With Greece came the first separation of the architecture of the public realm from specific context. Then the Romans, looking back at the Hellenes, made the move from repeatable architectural forms to entire public realms in their colonies. The cities that emerged from this culture were remarkable, for

> *despite their differing histories, the cities of the Three Gauls under the Early Empire displayed a homogeneity which … is a striking reflection of the extent*

> *to which the standards of Greco-Roman town-planning and architecture were accepted as the norm.*[593]

Even in instances, like Lyon, where homogeneity was disrupted by topography and other factors, the underlying order of the town still read as 'Roman', and all of the required forms were present.

Like those ancient cities that developed situationally within the strict determinants of their sites, the new cities were still imbued with symbolic order that their users understood, partly due to the repetition of recognisable form types. For example, since 'willed' towns did not have the hero-founder myths that arose from situational development, the deified city of Rome and the Emperor became the hero-founder and city protector, with a temple to Rome and Augustus gracing nearly every Roman colony. And in the case of Lyon, with its tight hilltop site and role as a provincial capital, the purview of the deified emperor was widened and the cult took up residence on the hillside opposite the city at the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls. Through observation and new architectural forms that arose to facilitate this observation, the ancient city taught its users new urban, social norms. And in the case of Roman Lyon, this correlation was recognised and deliberately enhanced.

[593] Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul : The Three Provinces, 58 BC-AD 260*. p. 143.

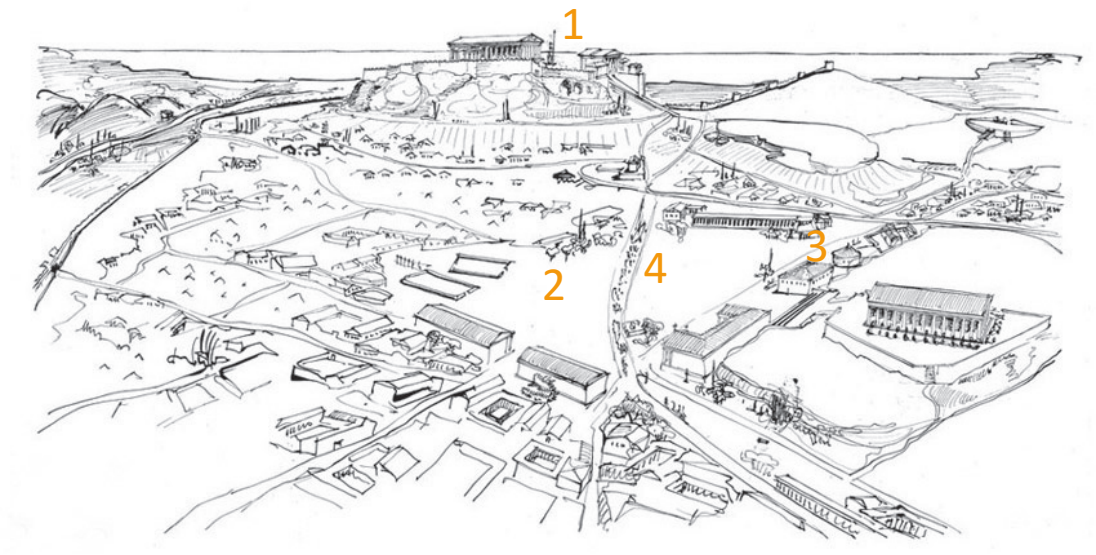


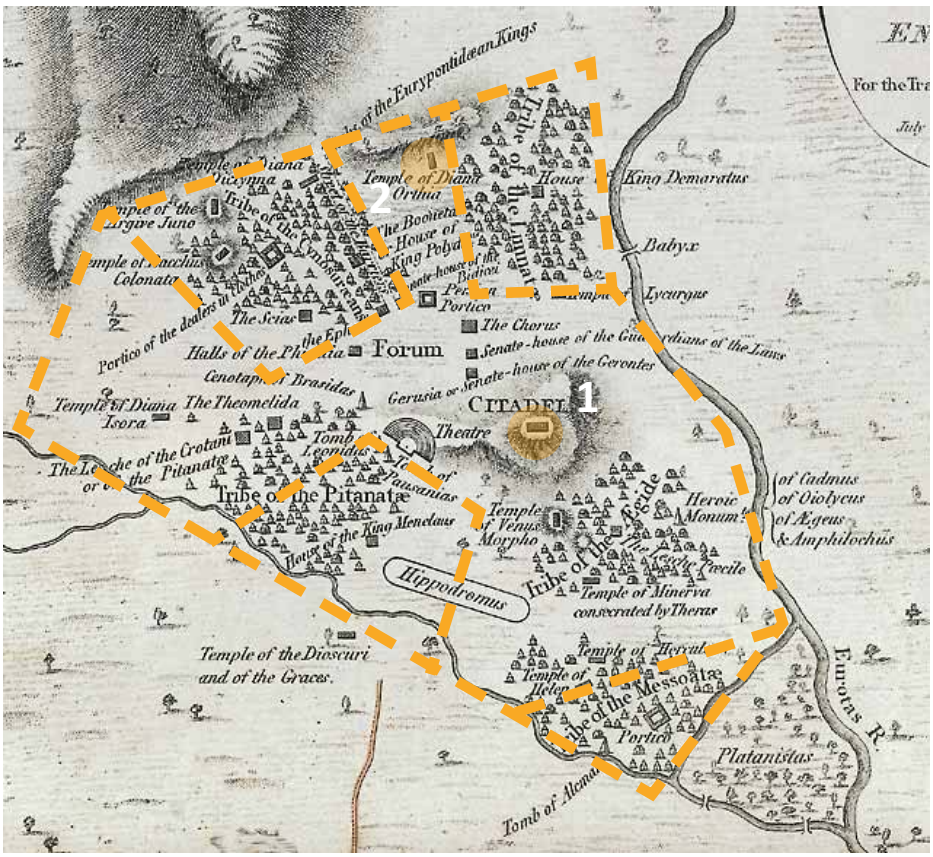
Figure 1.1 Theseus' founding map of Athens

1. acropolis
   alleged location of Theseus' original town hall

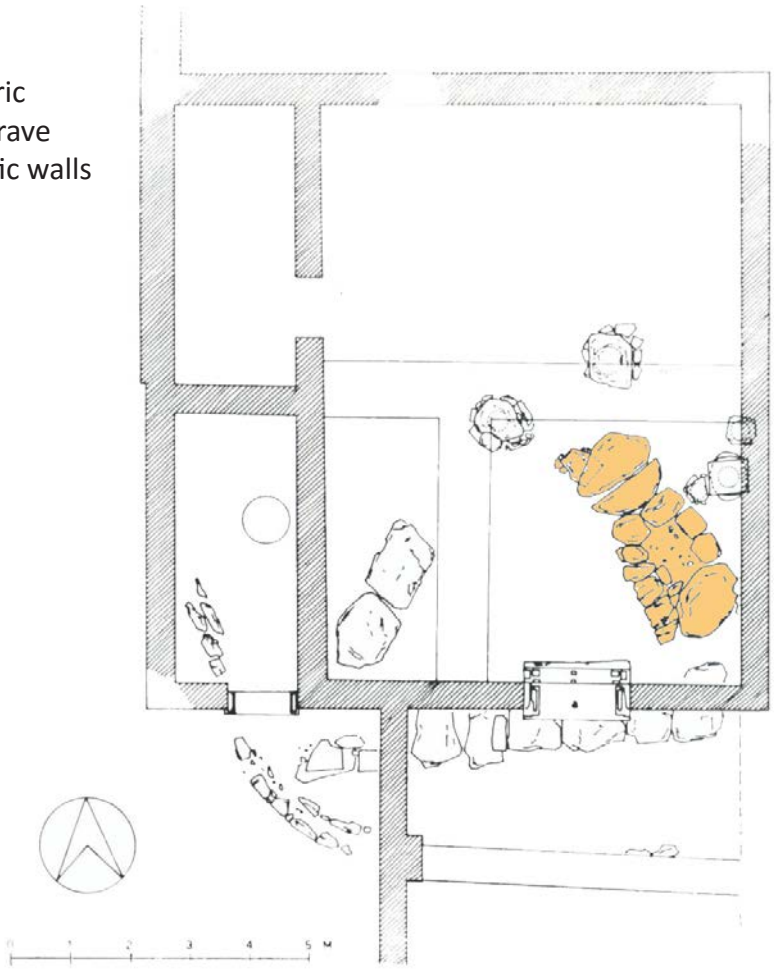
2. *agora*
   Theseus depicted on wall painting in the Painted Stoa
   Theseus depicted on wall painting in the Stoa of Zeus
   sculpture of Theseus decorated the Royal Stoa
   sculpture of Theseus decorated the Hephaisteion
   statue of Theseus stood near the Temple of Ares

3. shrine
   Theseus' shrine and tomb near the Bouleuterion complex ca. 480 B.C.

4. Panathenaic Way
   Theseus was credited with founding the Panathenaia


Forum
CITADEL
1
2
Tribe of the Pitanatæ
Hippodromus
Temple of the Dioscuri
and of the Graces.
Tribe of the Messoatæ
Platanistas
Eurotas R.
Tomb of Alcma
Temple of Diana Orthia
King Demaratus
Babyx
Lycurgus
The Chorus
Portico
Theatre
Tribe of the Limnatæ
Tribe of the Aegidæ
Temple of Minerva
consecrated by Theras
Temple of Venus Morpho
Heroic Monum
of Cadmus
of Oiolycus
of Ægeus
& Amphilochus
Temple of Diana Isora
The Theomelida
Gerusia or Senate-house of the Gerontes
Senate-house of the Ephori
Halls of the Ephori
The Scias
Portico of the dealers in
Colonata
Temple of Bacchus
Temple of the Argive Juno
Temple of Diana Limnatis
House of King Polydorus
The Bœotia
Temple of Diana Orthia
House of King Menelaus
Tomb of Leonidas
Tomb of Pausanias
Temple of Hercules
Temple of Helen
Portico
Tribe of the Pitanatæ
Tribe of the Crotani
Tribe of the Pitanatæ
Tribe of the Aegidæ
Tribe of the Messoatæ
Tribe of the Limnatæ
Tribe of the Cynosurians
Tribe of the Dymanatæ
Tribe of the Mesoatæ
Temple of Diana Limnatis
Temple of Diana Orthia
Temple of Diana Limnatis
Temple of Diana Orthia
Temple of Diana Limnatis
Temple of Diana Orthia

a.
The grouping of Geometric graves with the “royal” grave highlighted and Hellenistic walls shown hatched.



b.
The grouping of Geometric graves with the “royal” grave highlighted and Archaic walls shown crosshatched.

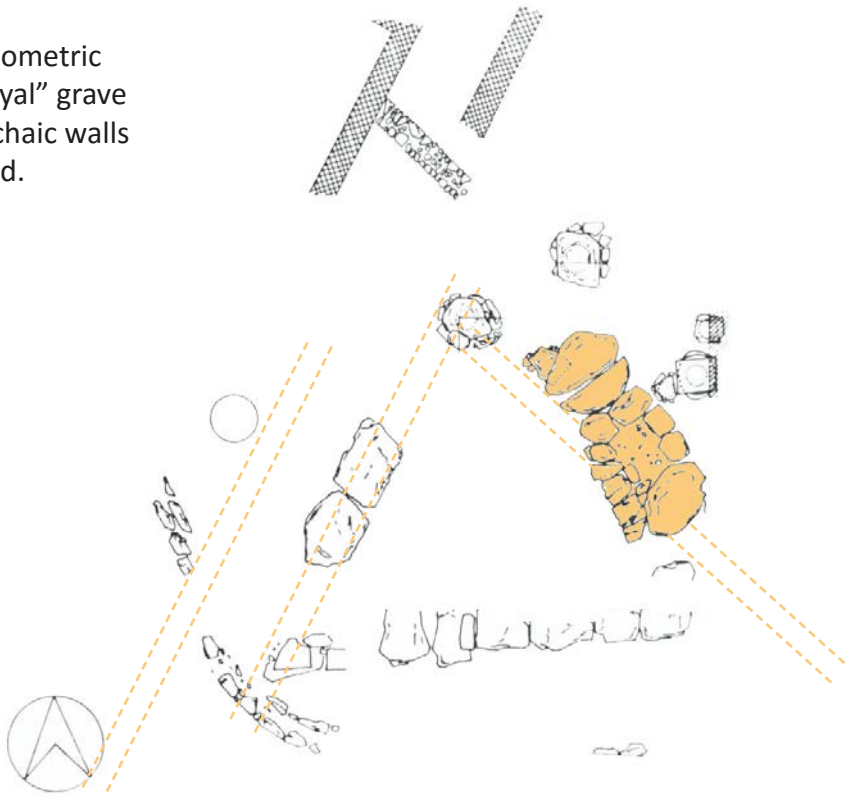


Figure 1.3 The development of the hērōon site at Eretria

1 Thesmophoreion
2 W-E main road
3 N-S road
4 Temple of Dionysos
5 Hellenistic theatre
6 West Gate complex & monumental bridge
7 Heroon
8 Temple and temenos of Apollo Daphnephoros
9 Boundary line of the Archaic agora
10 Eastern stoa
11 MH habitations
12 Geometric habitations
13 Ancient harbour area
14 Modern coastline
15 Western mole
16 Acropolis
17 Eastern swampy area (Ptekhai)
18 Hypothetical eastern gate
19 Hellenistic diateichisma & sea wall
20 Line of the enceinte
21 Western stream
22 Archaic diateichisma of the acropolis
23 Archaic south-west cemetery
24 Sixth-century fountain house
25 Probable LG (c. 725-690 B.C.) fortified settlement area
26 Probable line of fortifications
27 Geometric buildings, including the temenos with the hekatompedon (Themelis)
28 Temple of Aphrodite-Astarte
29 Possible gate in LG fortifications

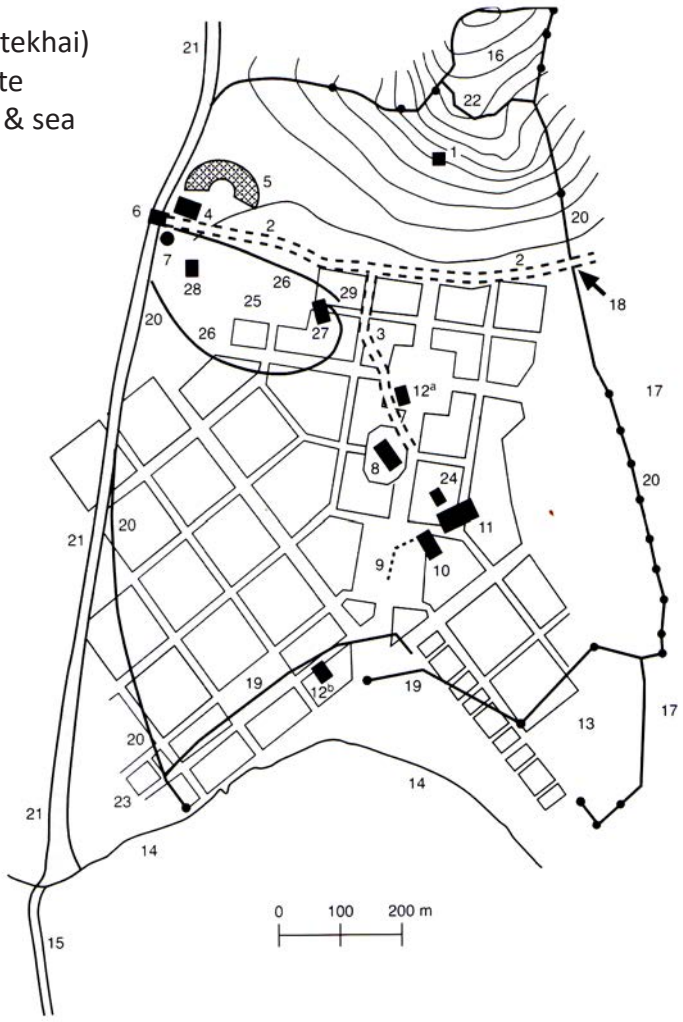


Figure 1.4 Plan of archaic Eretria with modern streets overlaid

a.
Reconstructed plan of the Geometric Sanctuary site at Eretria

b.
Reconstructed plan of the early Archaic Temple of Apollo at Eretria

c.
Reconstructed plan of the late Archaic Temple of Apollo at Eretria

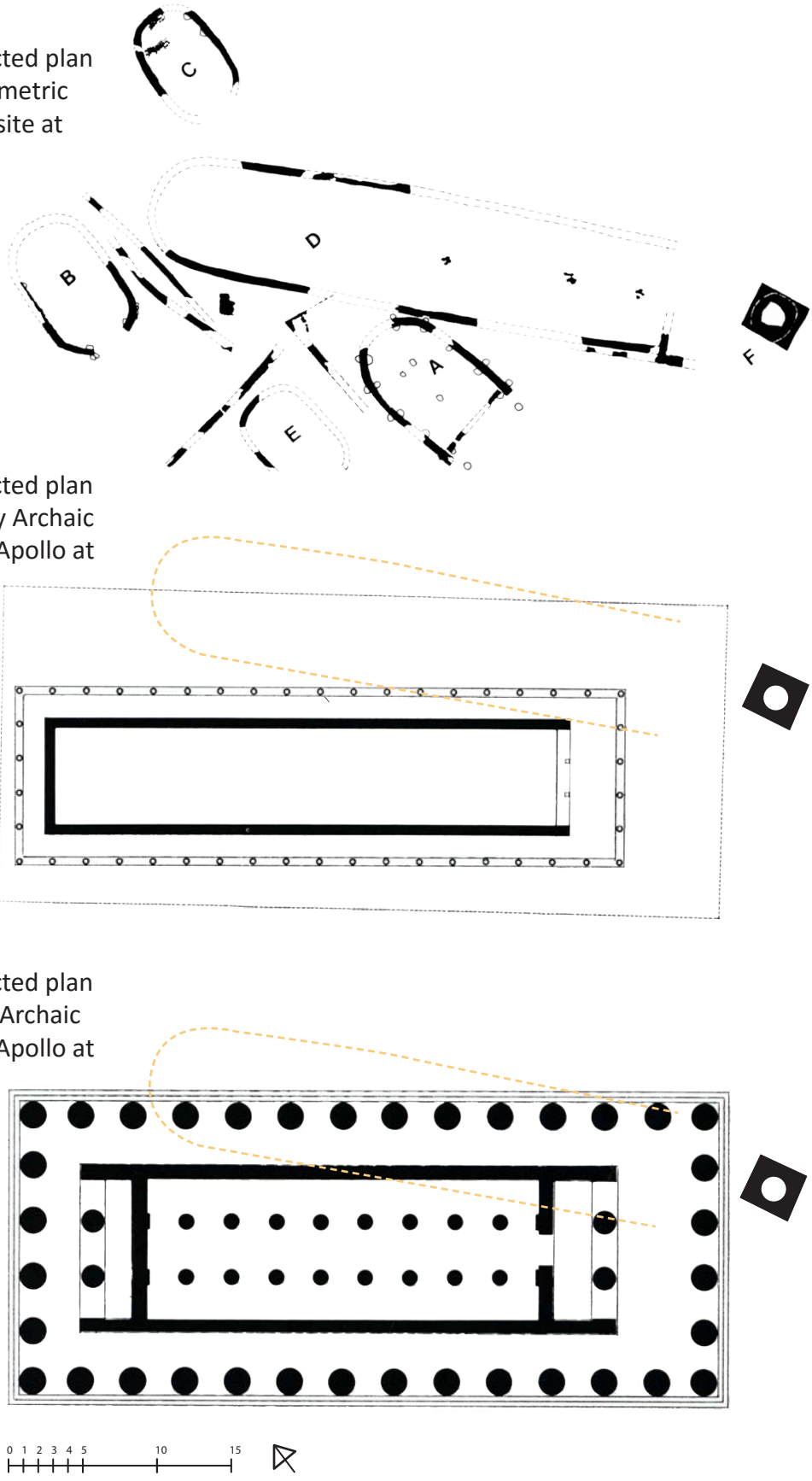


Figure 1.5 Plans showing the transition from hearth house to temple at the Temple and temenos of Apollo Daphnephoros site at Eretria

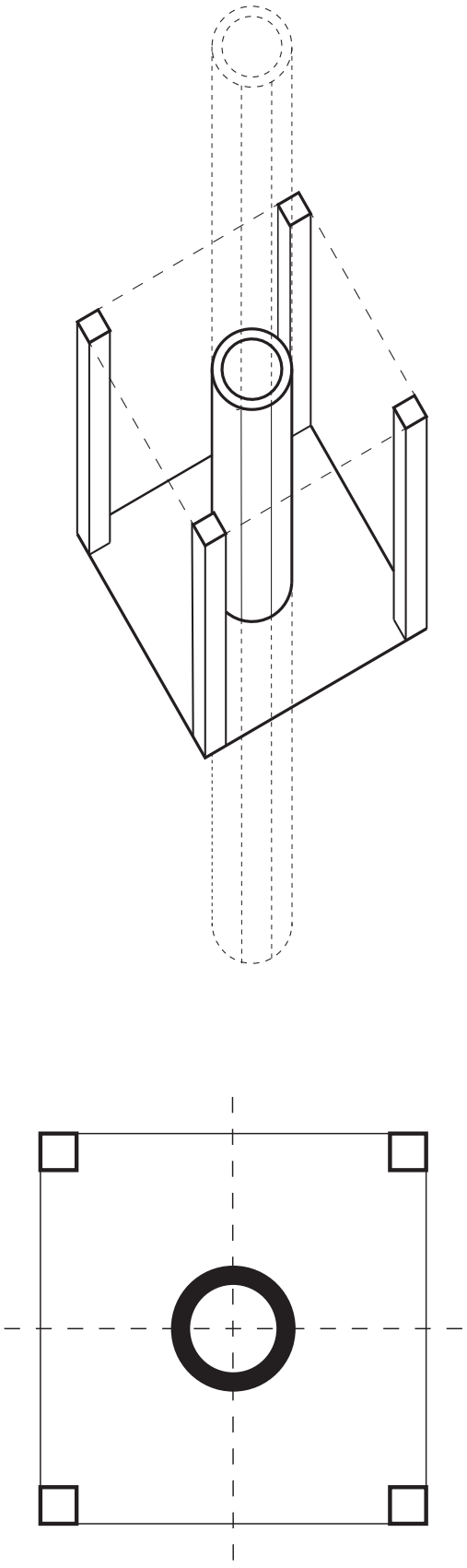


Figure 1.6 Diagrams of the Archaic Greek conception of space with the hearth at the centre

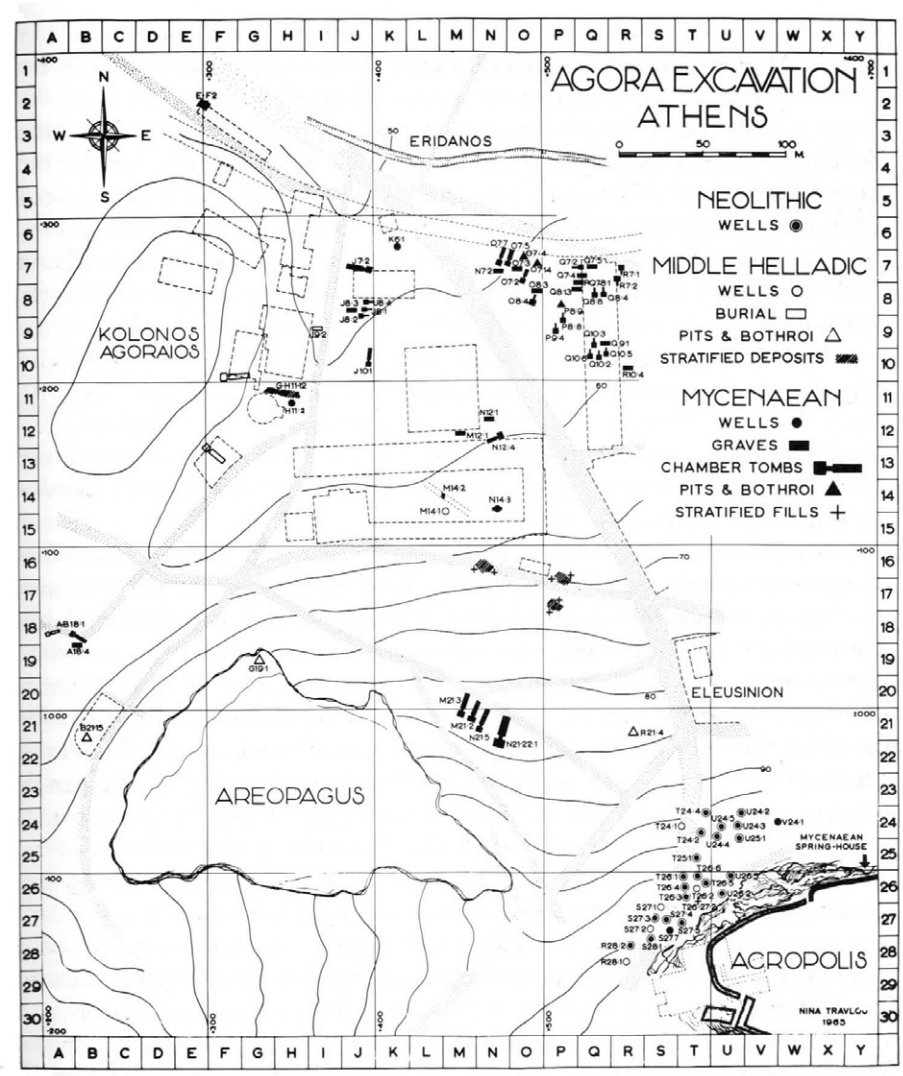


Figure 1.7 The prehistoric wells & graves around the *agora*. Buildings from ca. second century A.D. are shown in dotted outline.

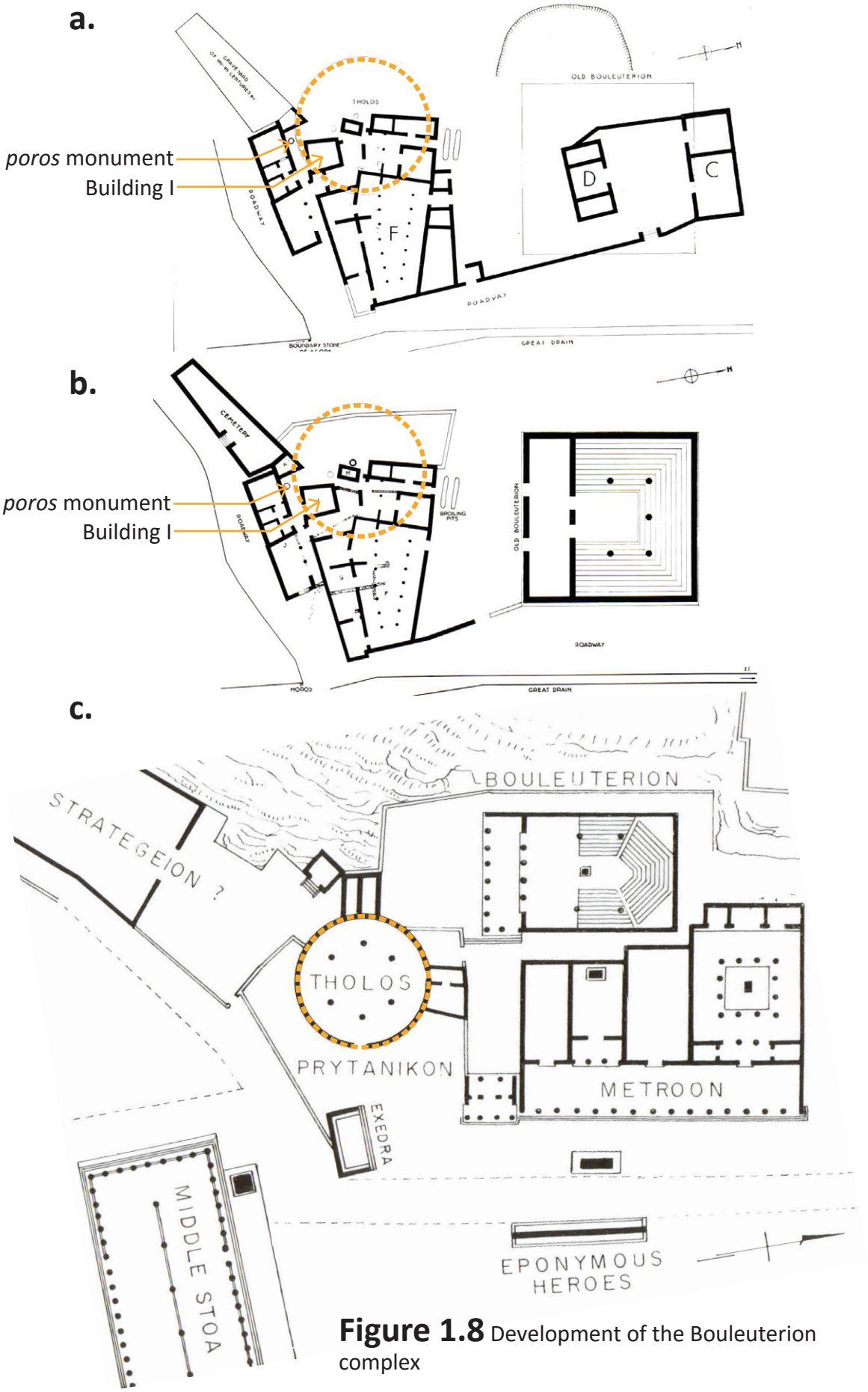


Figure 1.8 Development of the Bouleuterion complex

Figure 1.9 *Tholos* reconstruction - *oculus* not shown

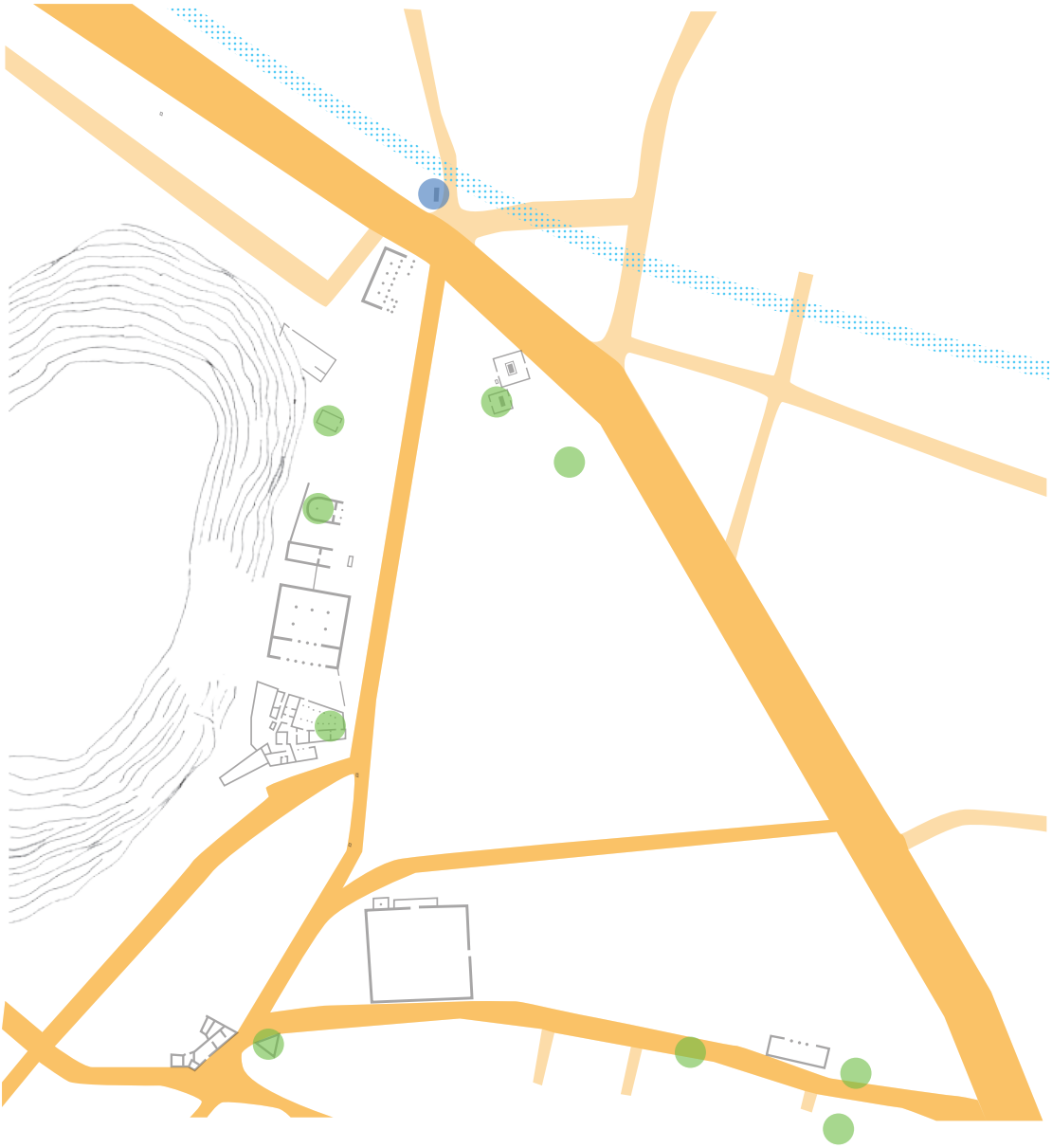


Figure 1.10 Early cult sites on the *agora*
outline of buildings on the *agora* ca. 500 B.C. shown in grey

Key

- evidence of cult activity from the seventh century B.C. (or earlier)
- suspected cult activity from the seventh century B.C. (or earlier)

Figure 1.11 Early Archaic *agora*

Figure 1.12 Mid-sixth century B.C. *agora*

Figure 1.13 ca. 500 B.C. *agora*

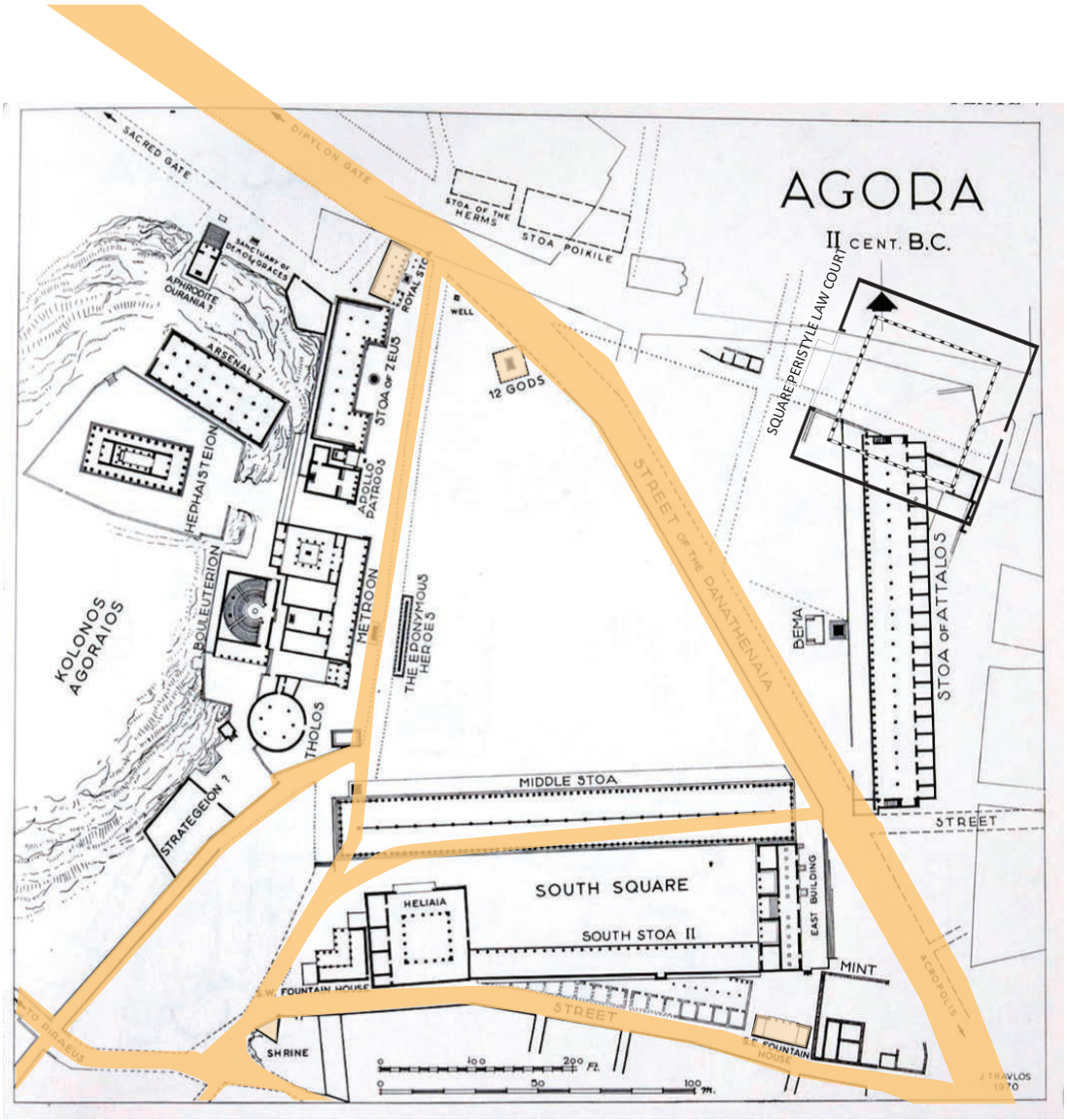


Figure 1.14 Classical *agora* in the second century B.C.

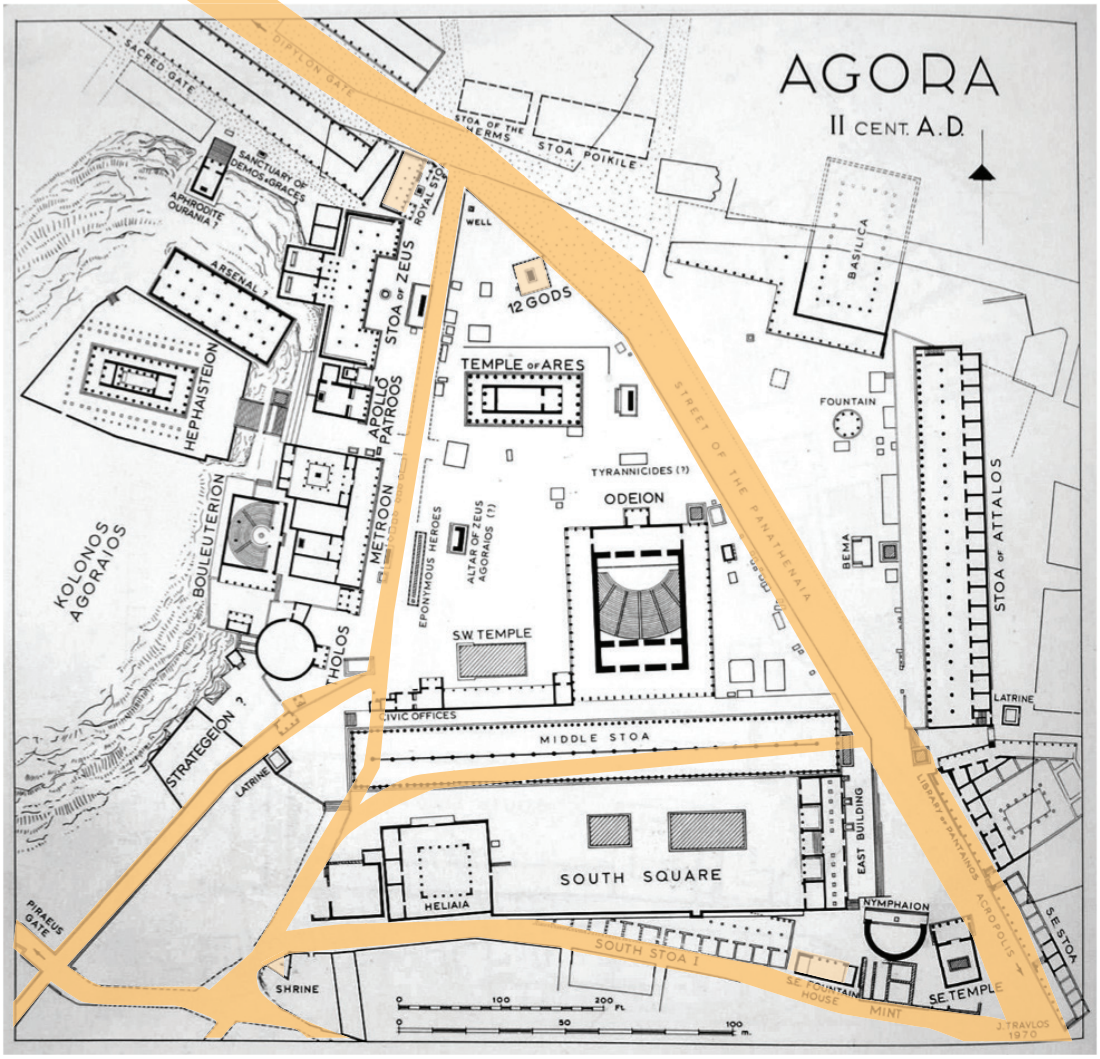


Figure 1.15 Roman *agora* in the second century A.D.

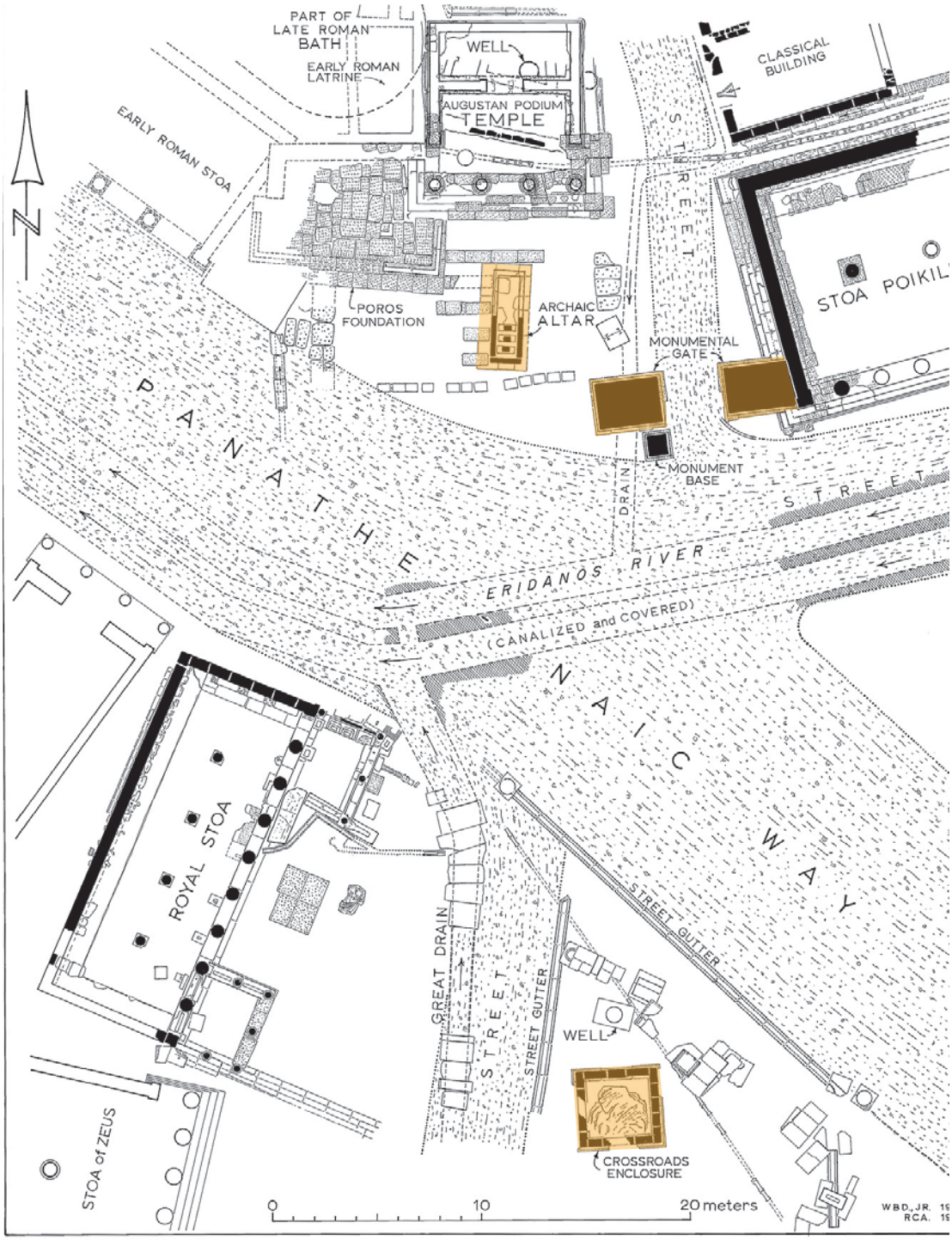


Figure 1.16 Plan of the northwest corner of the *agora*

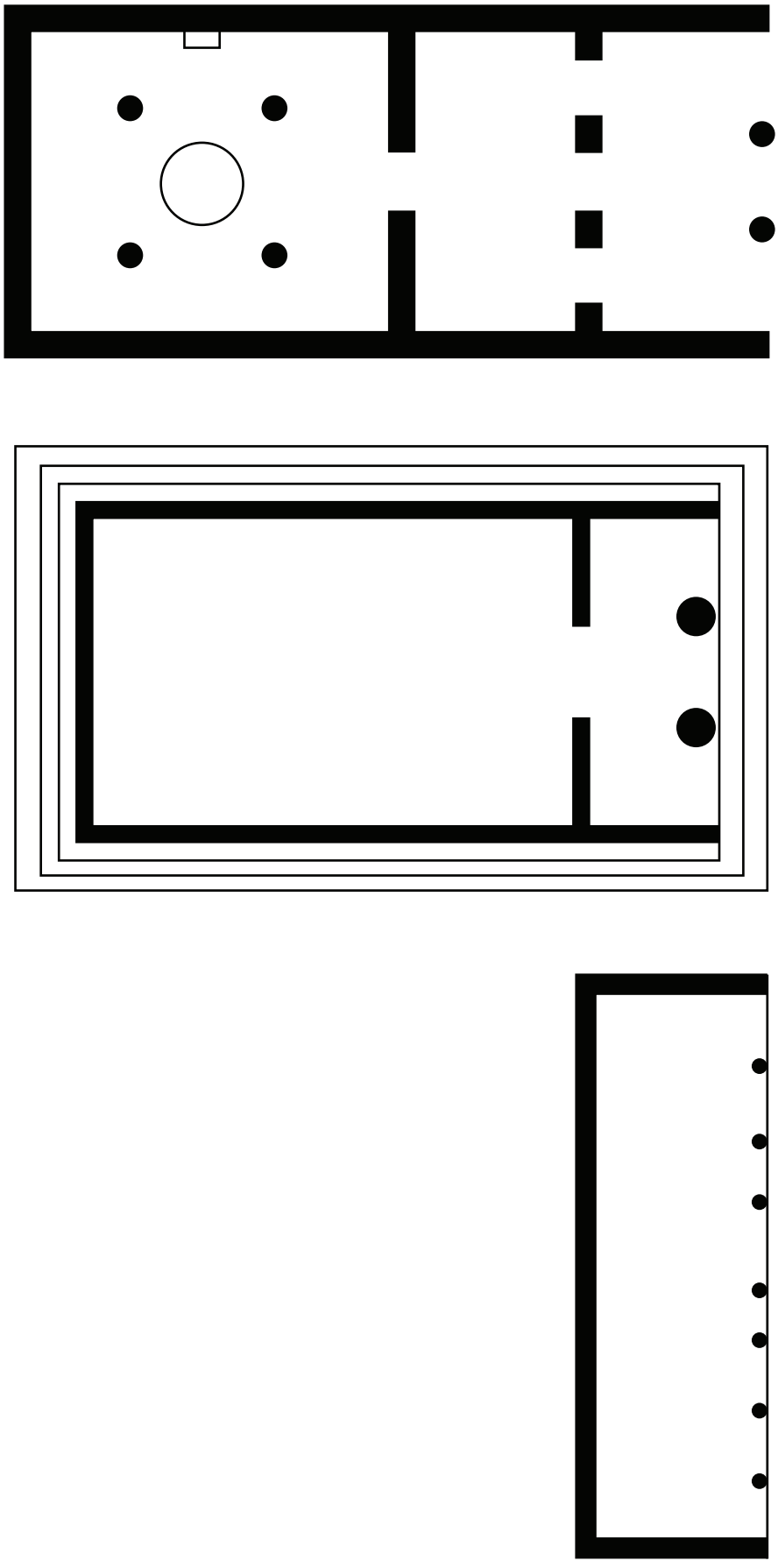
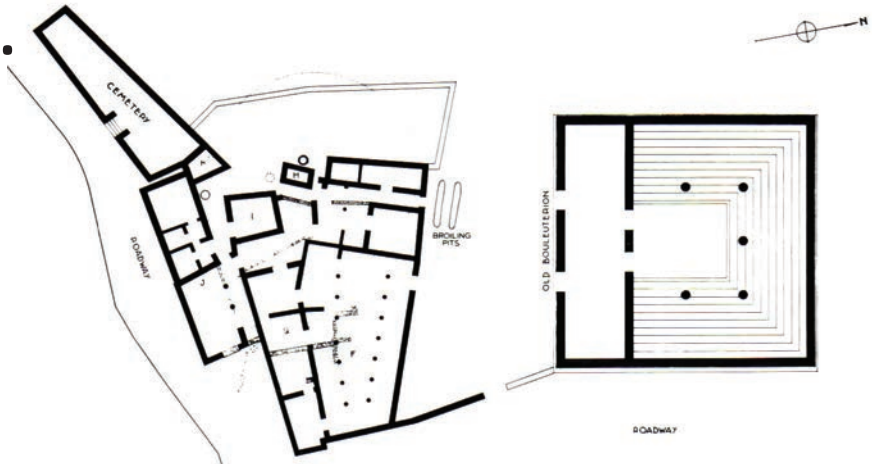


Figure 1.17 Diagrammatic plans of simple megaron, temple, and *stoa* forms

1.

2.



3.

Figure 1.18

1. Diagram of the Bouleuterion complex comparing open and closed spaces
2. Plan of the Bouleuterion complez c. 400 B.C.
3. Plan of the *agora* showing context c. 500 B.C.

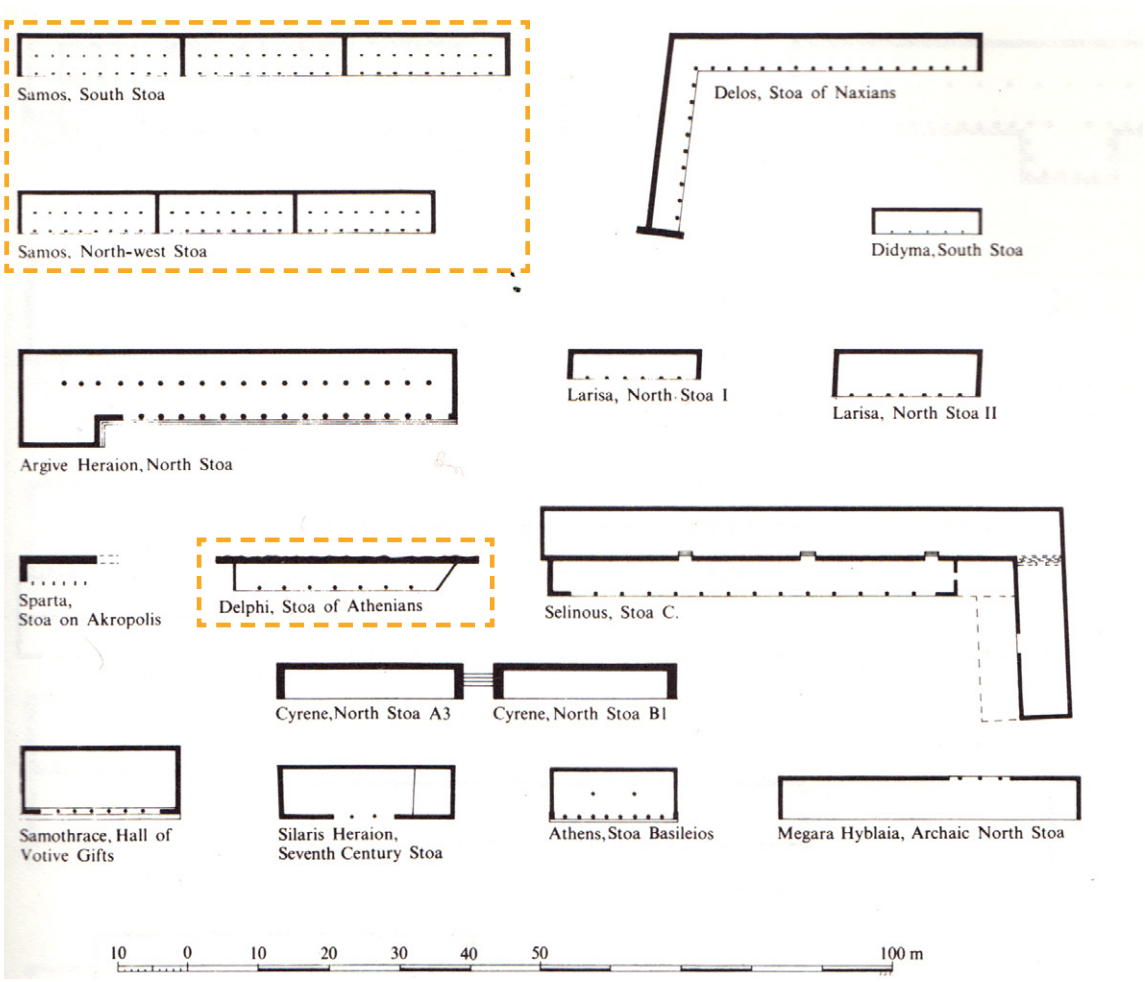


Figure 1.19 Archaic *stoae*

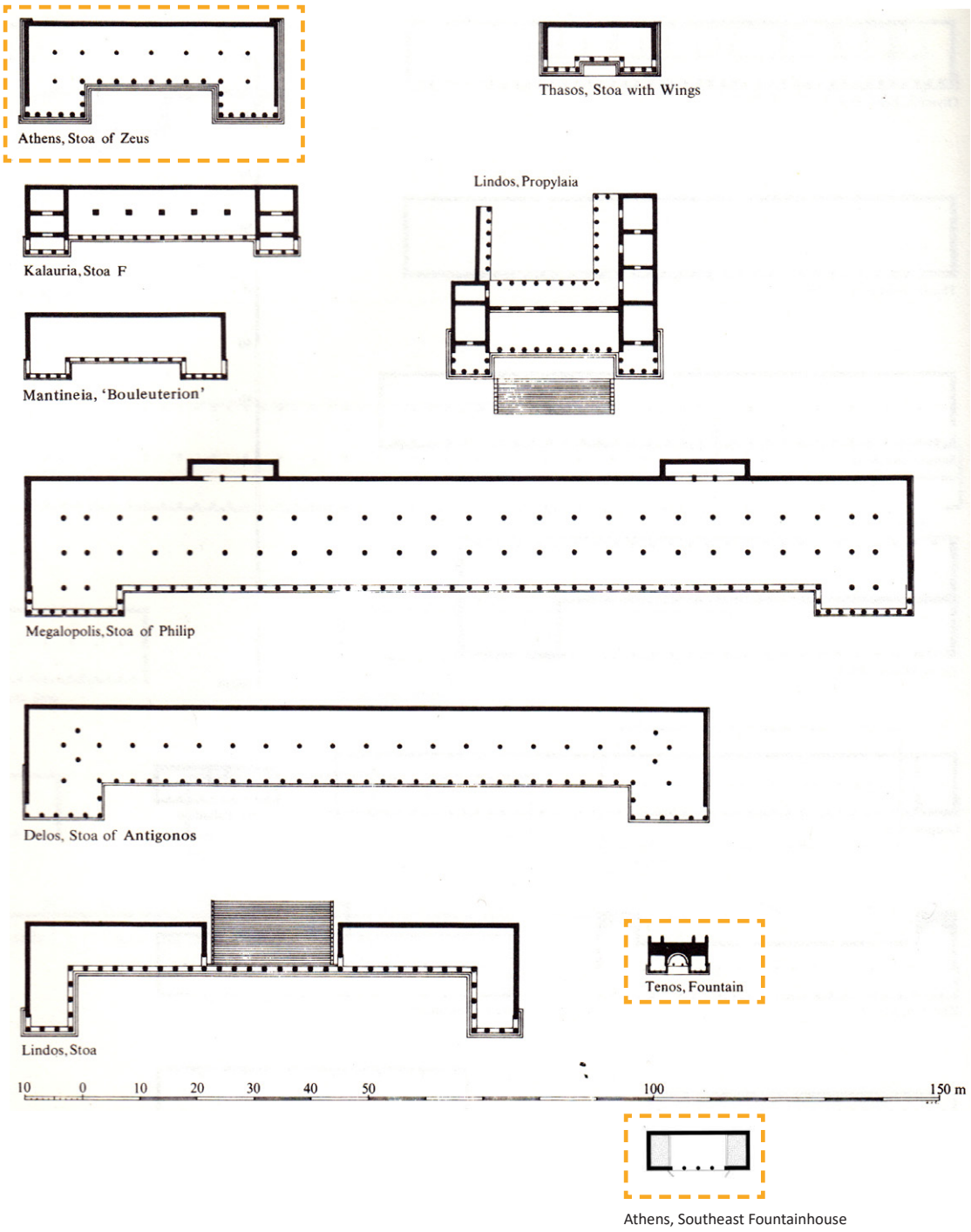


Figure 1.20 *Stoae* with wings

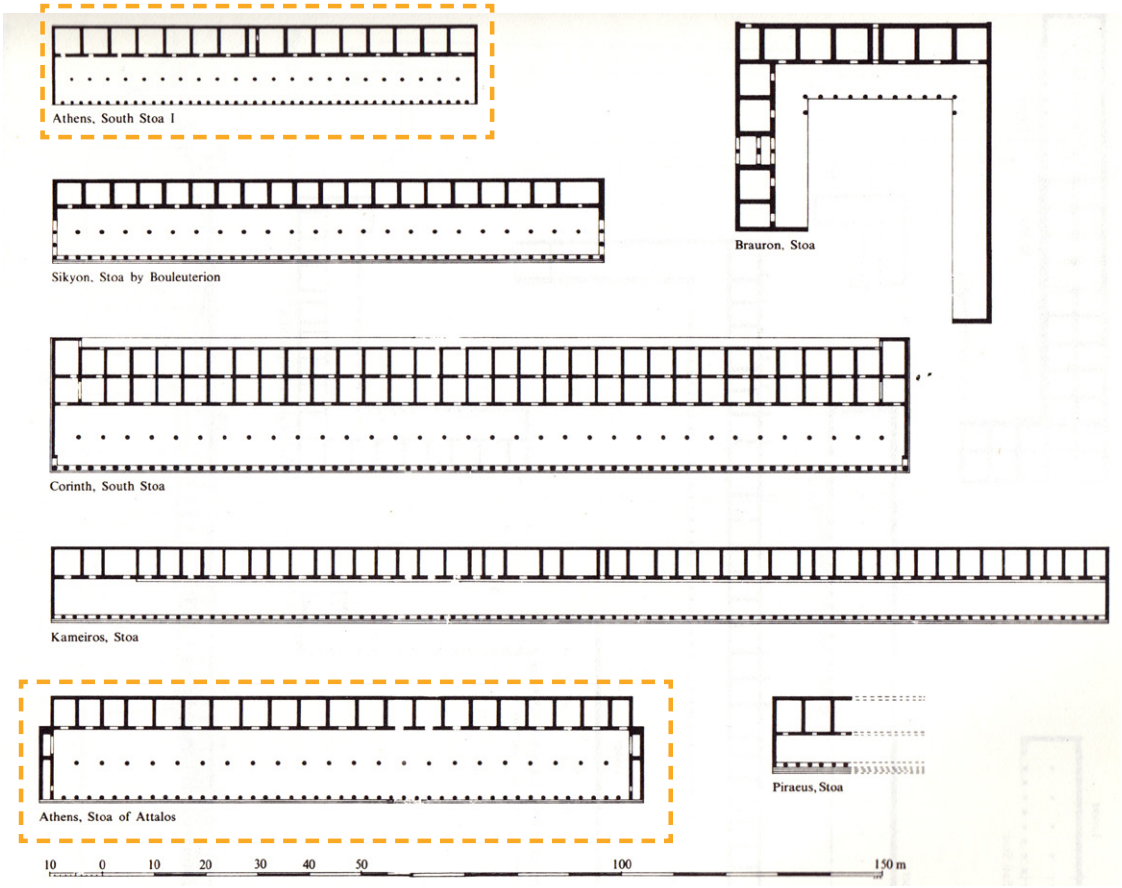


Figure 1.21 *Stoae* with rooms

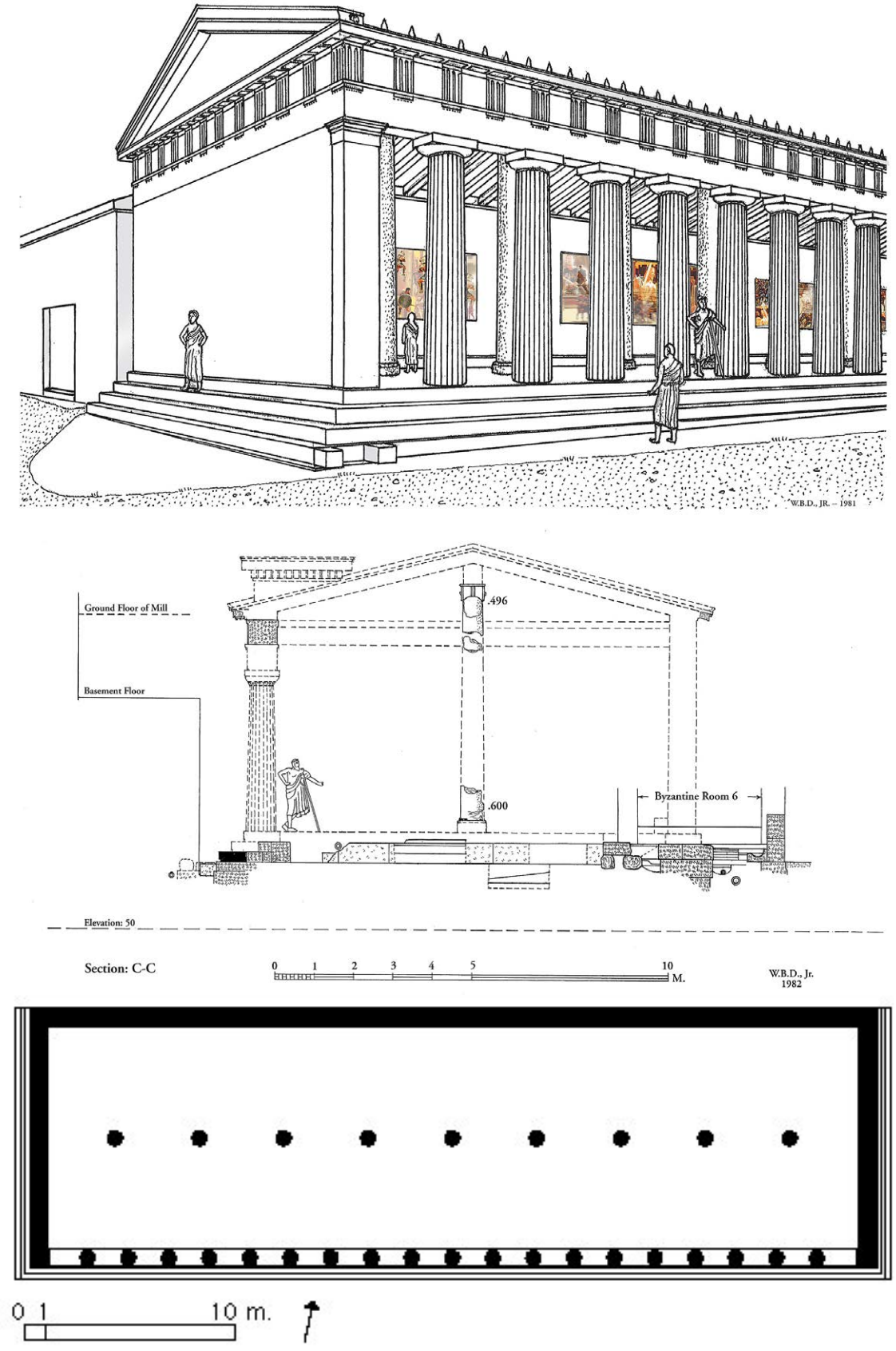


Figure 1.22 Plan, section, and illustration of the Poikile Stoa

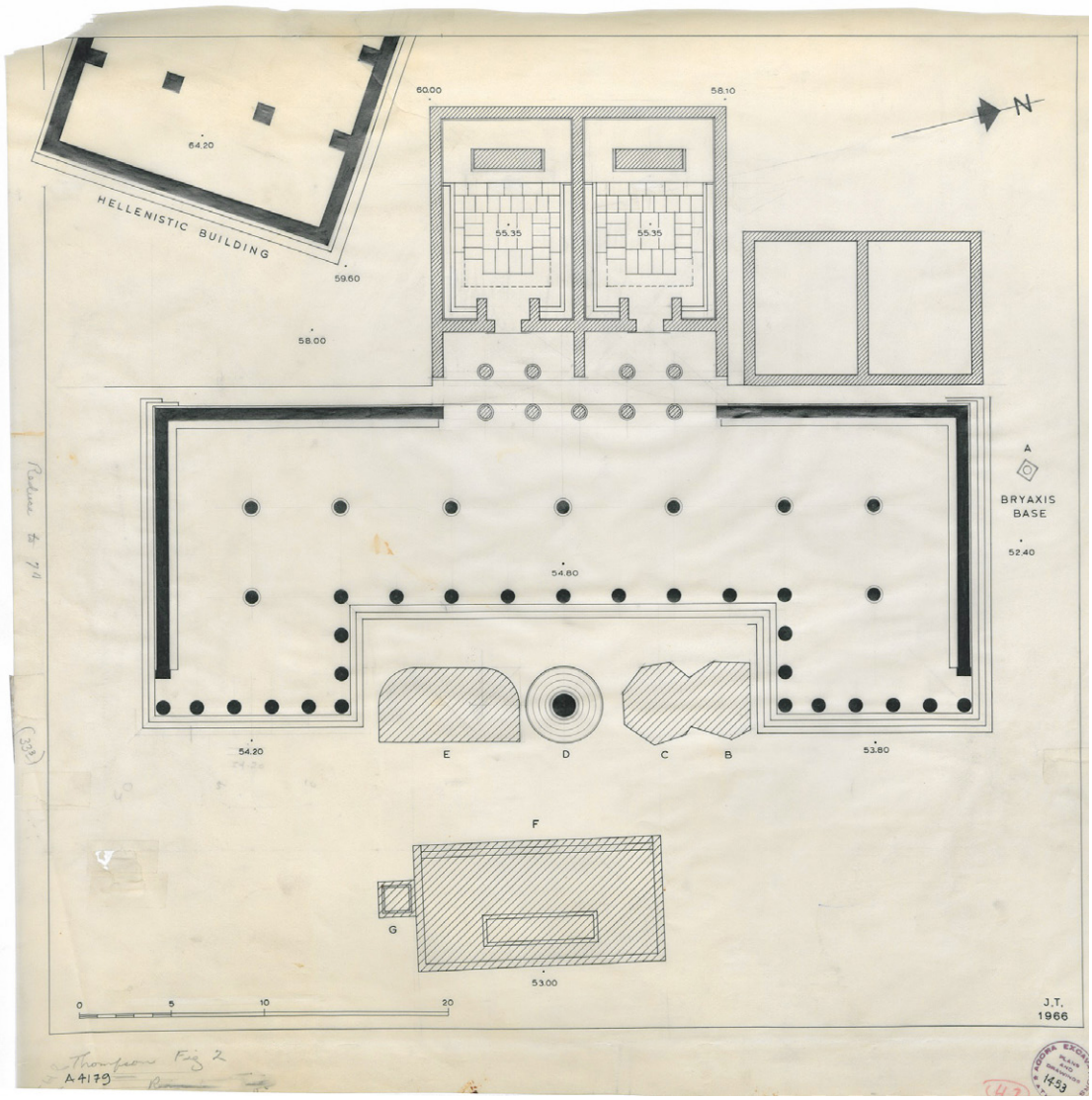


Figure 1.23 Plan of the Stoa of Zeus

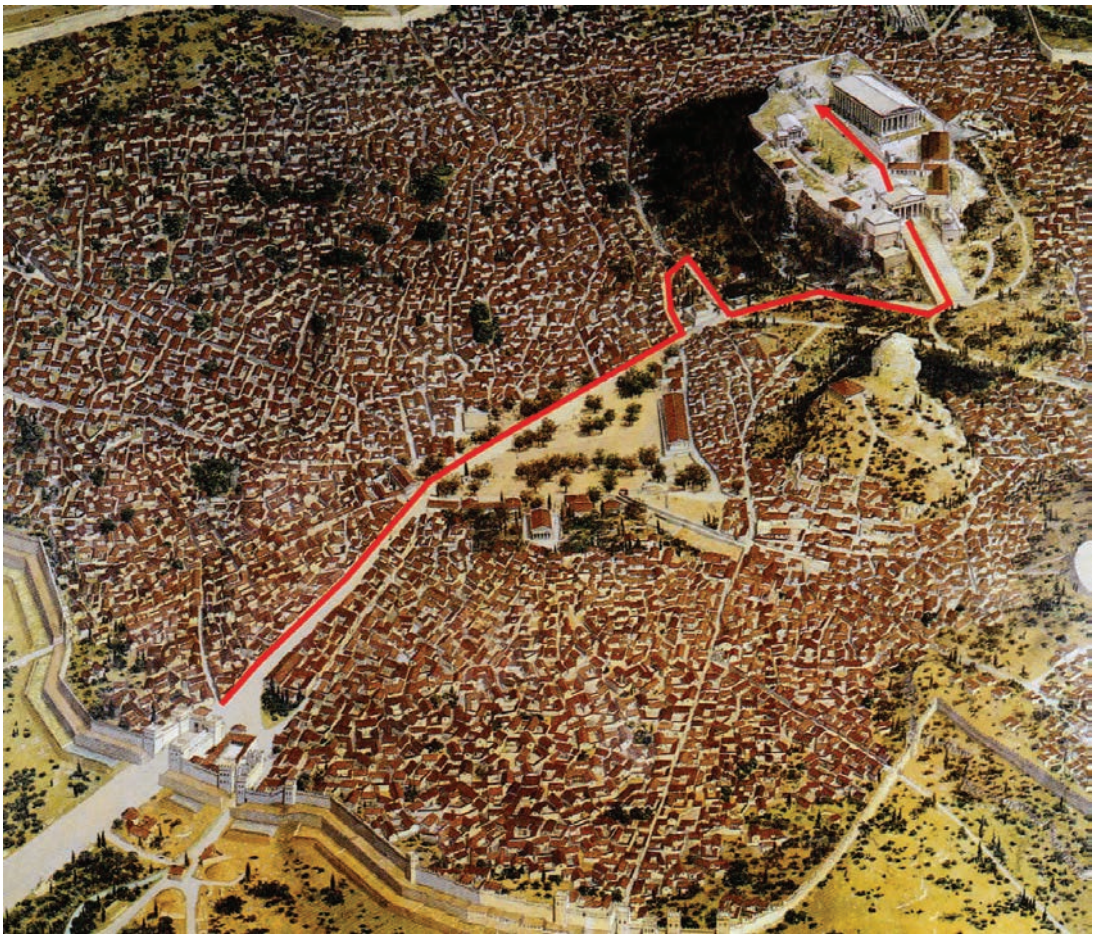


Figure 1.24 Route of the Panathenaic Procession from Dipylon Gate to Acropolis

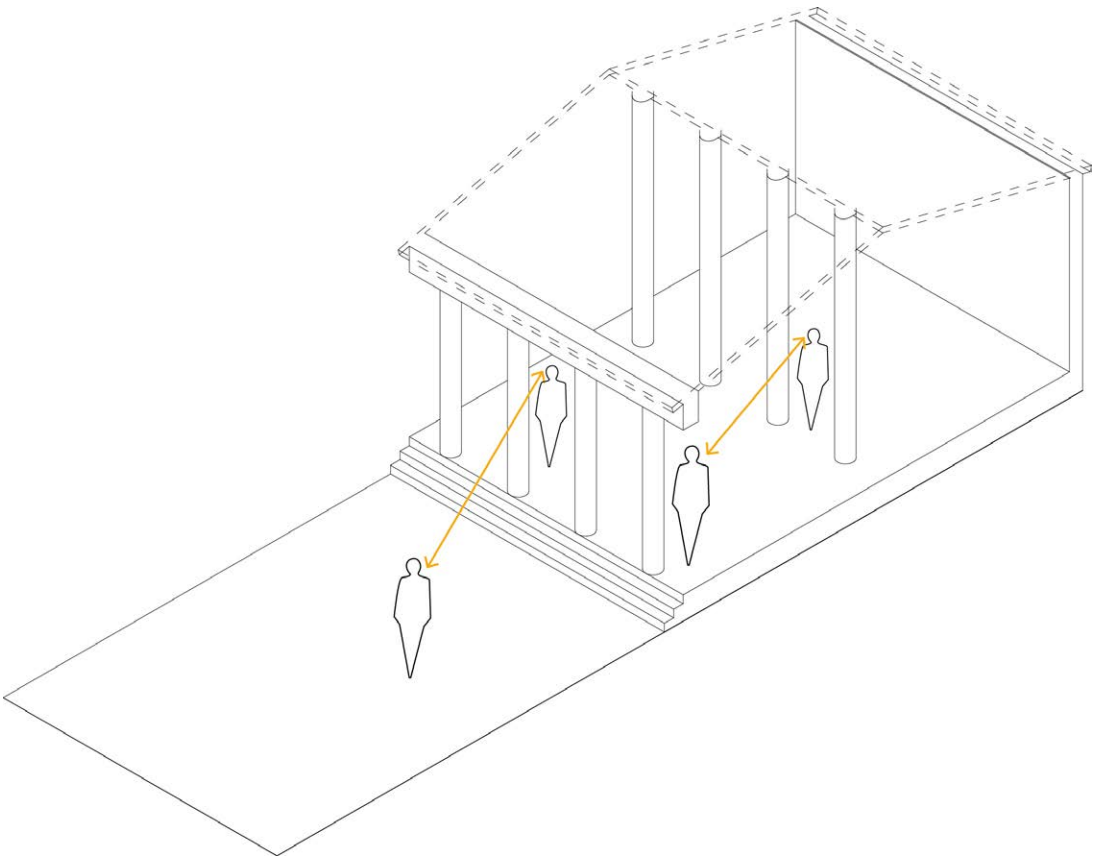


Figure 1.25 Diagram of the stoa form type in use

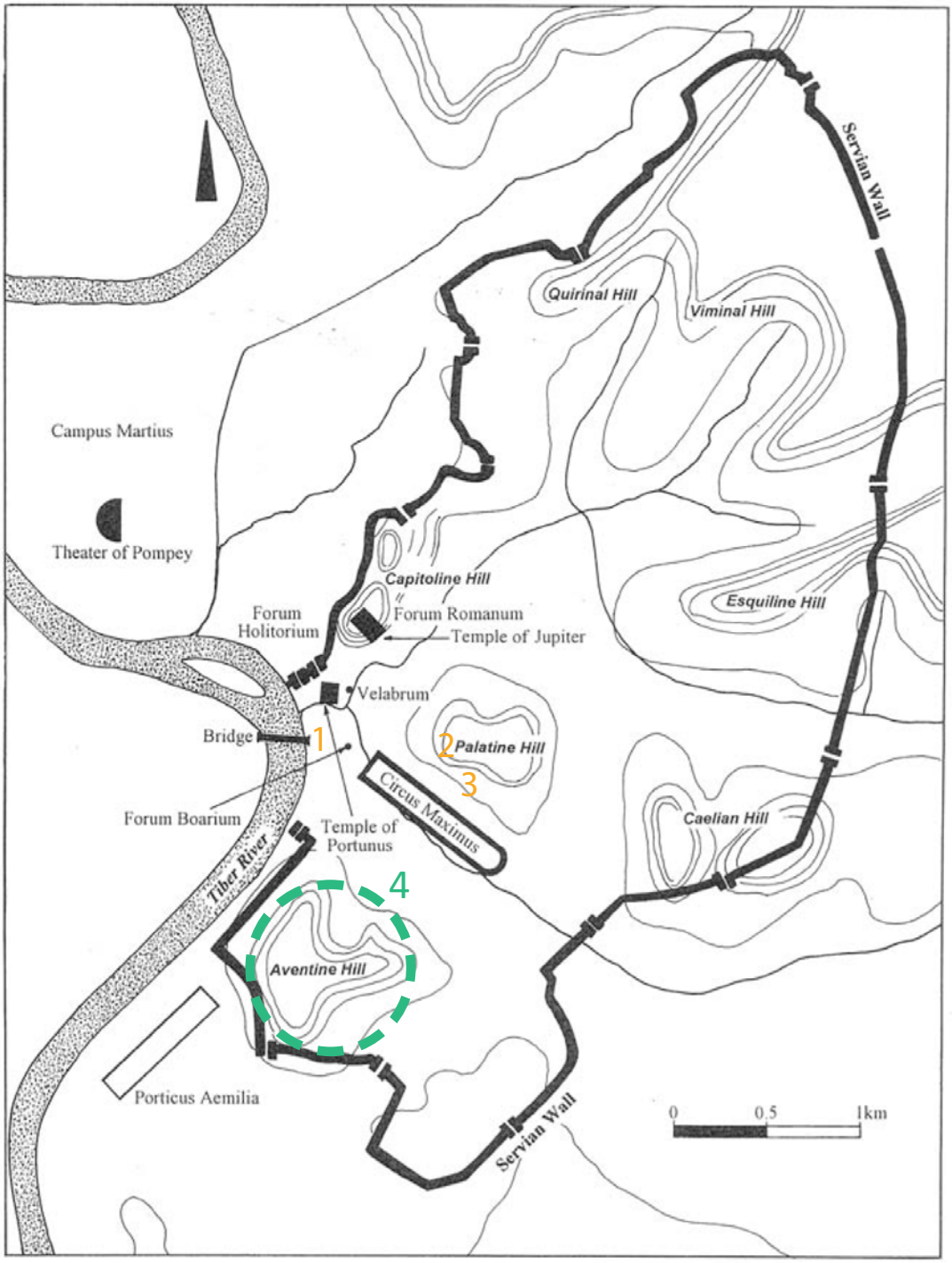


Figure 2.1 Republican Map of Rome with Founding Myths

1. Forum Boarium – where the twins washed ashore and where Aeneas is directed to find a white sow and her litter by the Tiber River God[2] and where Hercules killed the beast Cacus[2]
2. Casa Romulus or the hut of Romulus on the western corner of the Palatine overlooking the Circus Maximus
3. Roma Quadrata – a "squared-off outcropping"[1] located at the edge of the hill overlooking the Circus Maximus that is the supposed location from which Romulus took the auspices required in the town foundation rite
4. route taken by Hercules during his battle with Cacus

[1] Gates. p. 330.
[2] Vergilius. Book VIII. pp. 203, 208, 209.

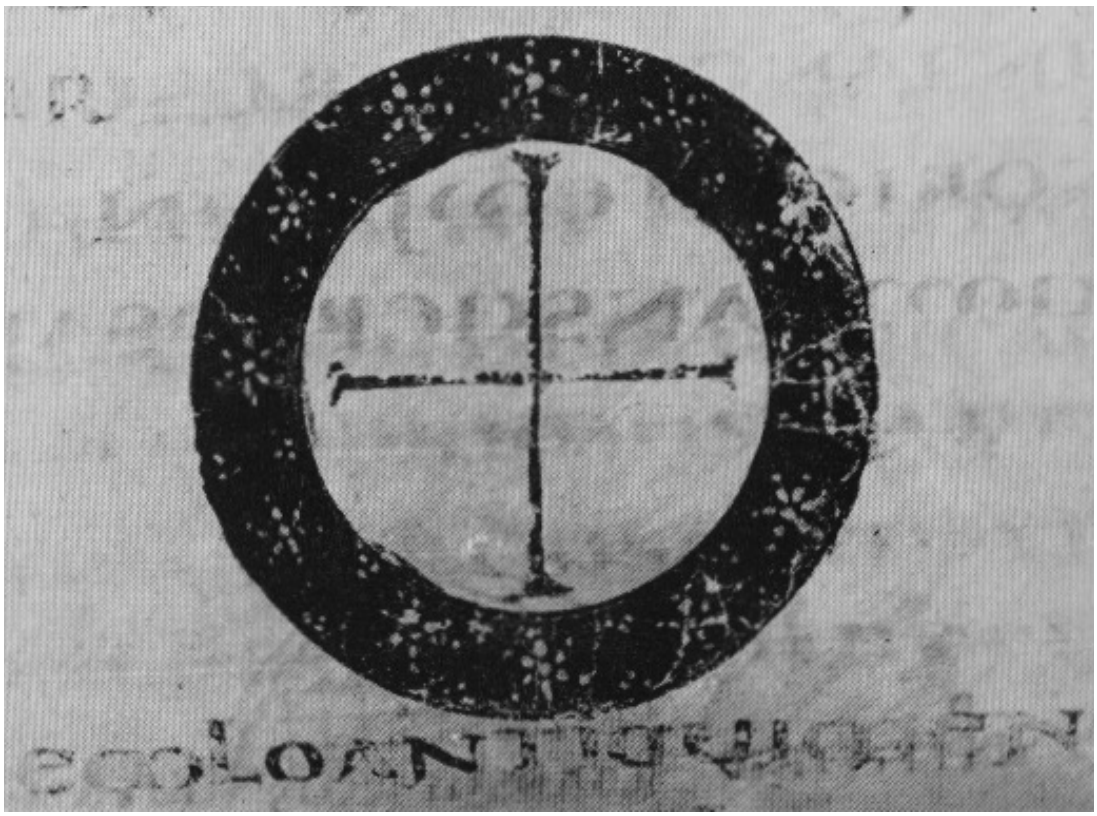


Figure 2.2 The Templum of the Sky

Miniature illustrating the ‘Constitutio Limitum’ in the most ancient surviving manuscript of the Corpus Agrimensorum, the ‘Codex Arcerianus’, writings on surveying.

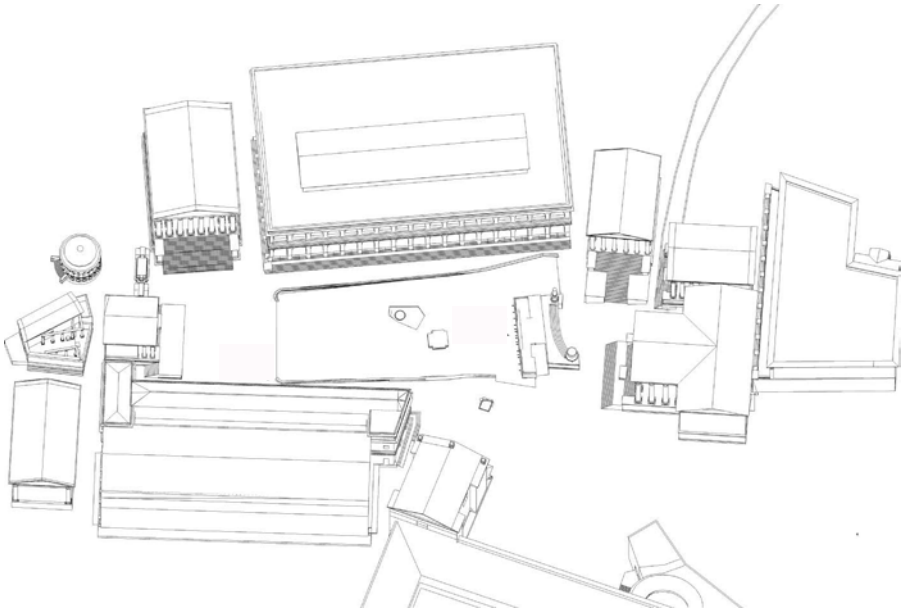


Figure 2.3 The Late Republican Forum Romanum

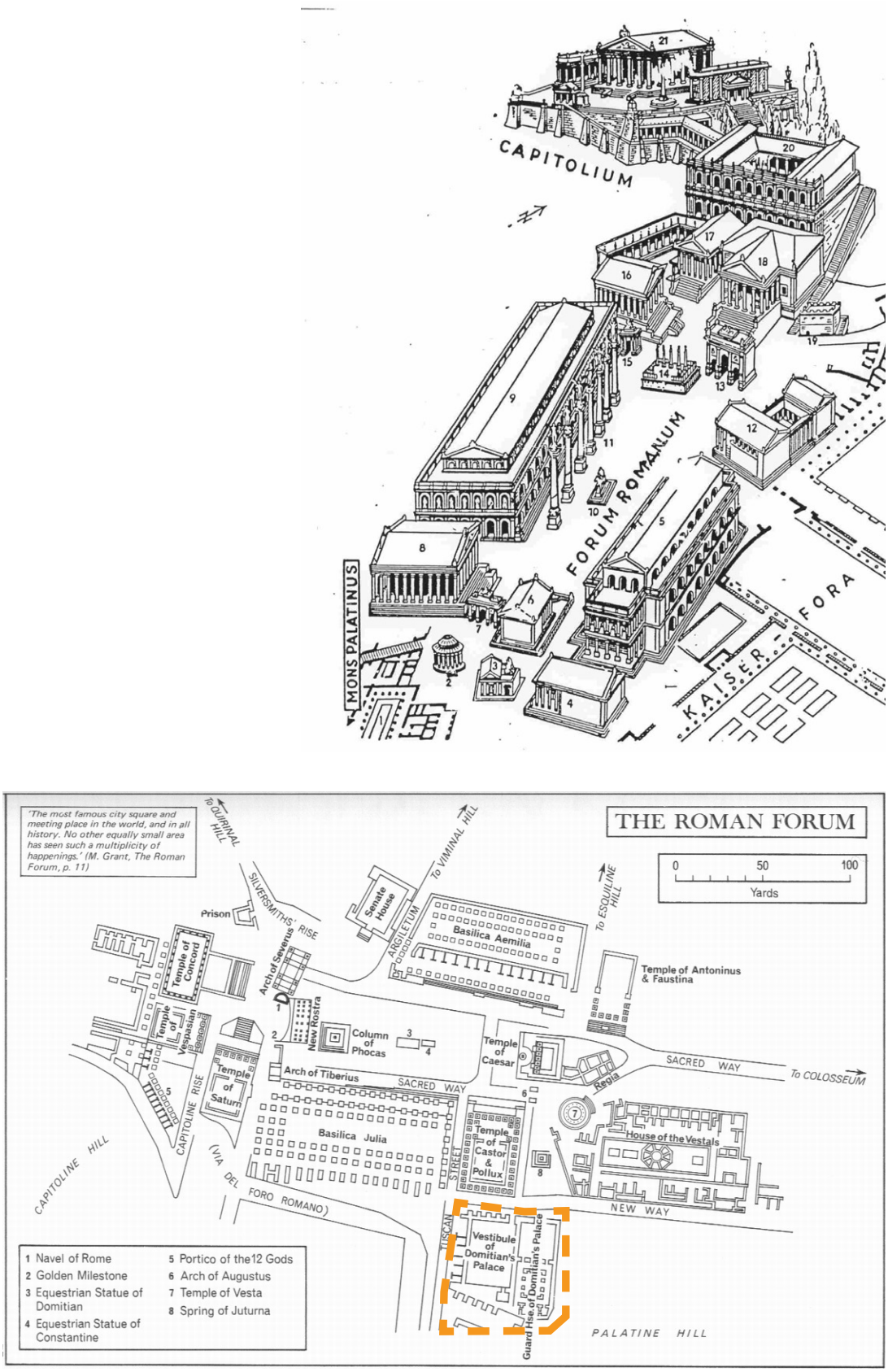


Figure 2.4 The Imperial Forum Romanum

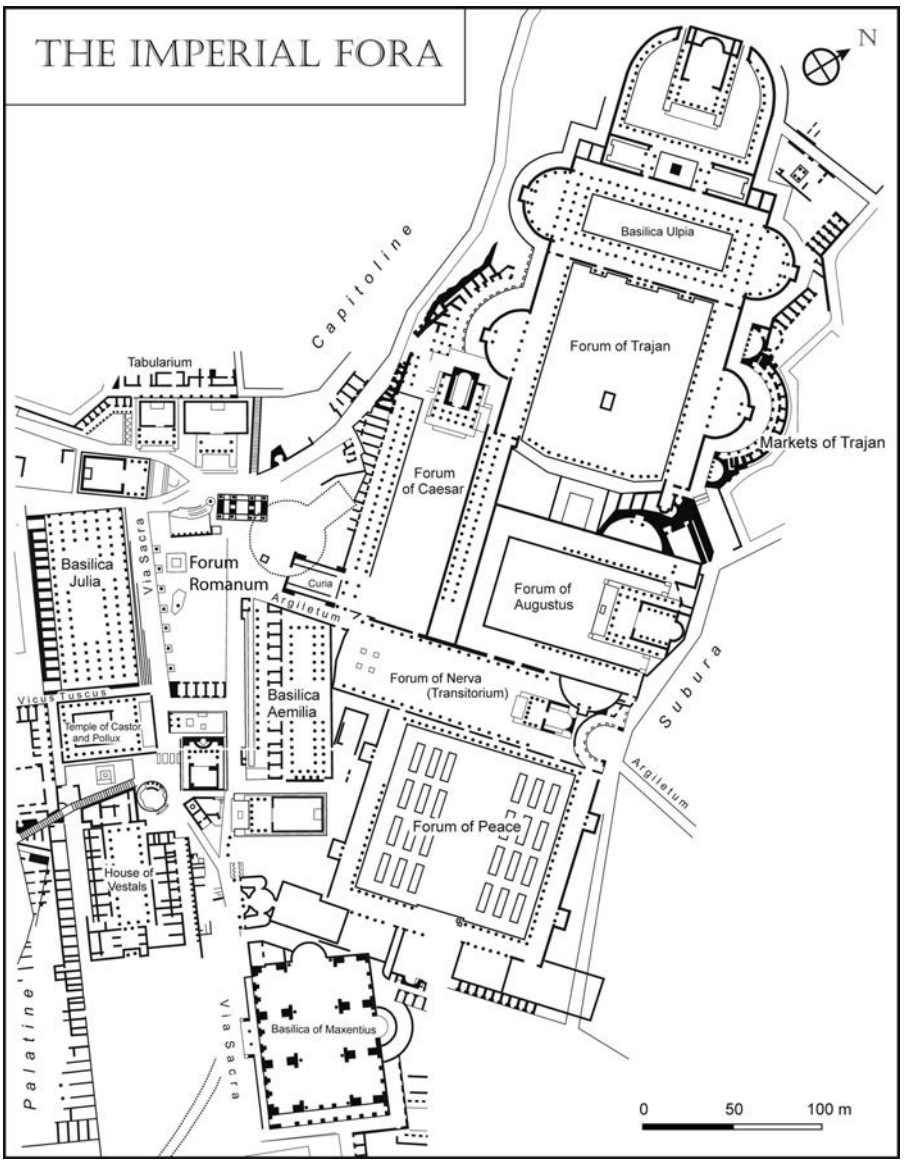


Figure 2.5 The Imperial Fora

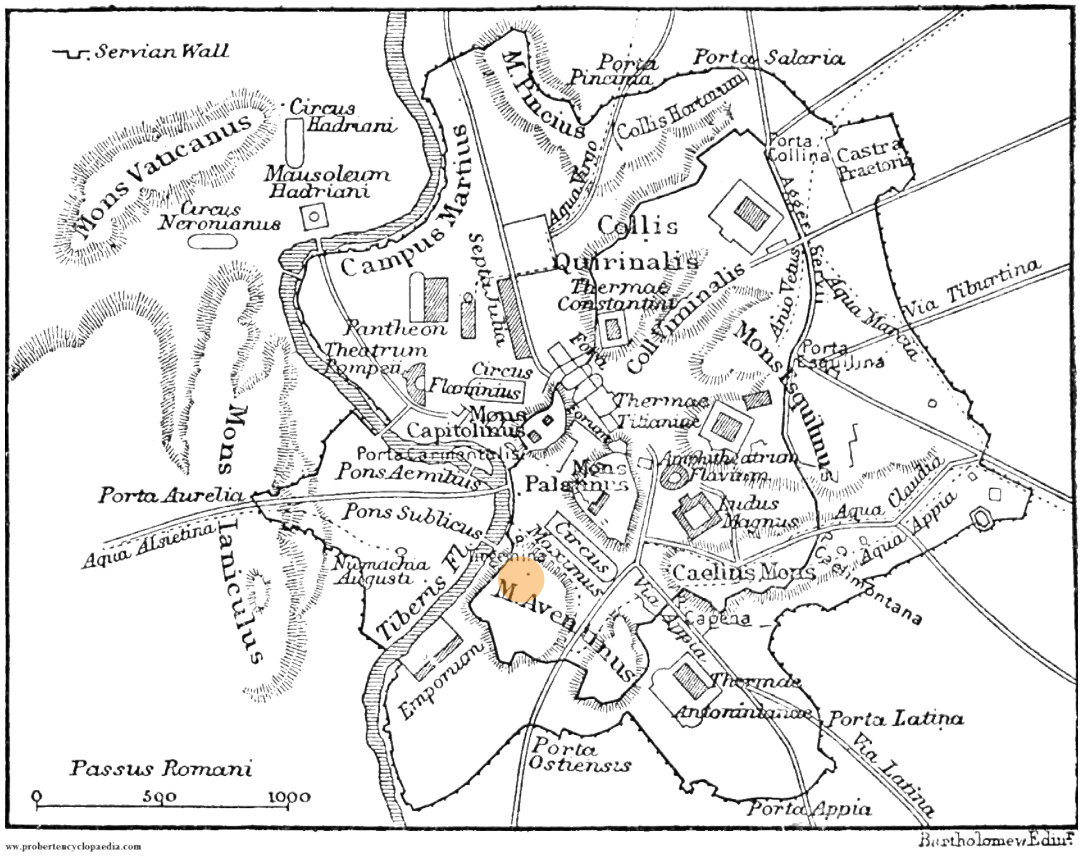


Figure 2.6 Map of ancient Rome

Key

Forum Boarium

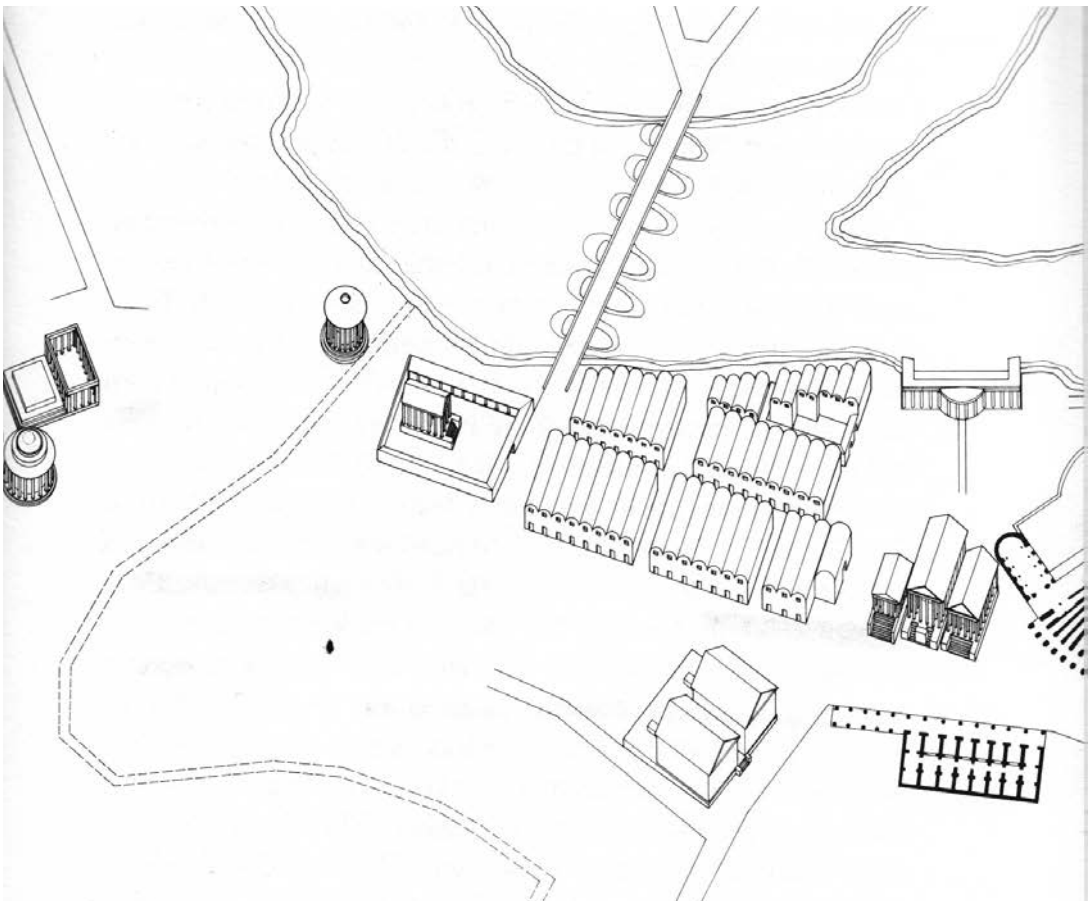


Figure 2.7 The Second/First Century B.C. Forum Boarium

Far left: Temple of Hercules Invictus (rectangular), Temple of Hercules Victor (round), Herculis Invicti Ara Maxima, colonnaded shrine (Statio Annonae?). *Center left:* Round Temple of the Forum Boarium, rectangular Temple of the Forum Boarium (Temple of Portunus?). *Center right, top:* Tiber and Pons Aemilius. *Center right, middle:* Horrea (provisional reconstruction). *Center right, bottom:* Temple of Fortuna, Temple of Mater Matuta (Area Sacra di S. Omobono). *Far right, top:* Tiber and Insula Tiberina. *Far right, middle:* Porticus post Spei; Temples of the Forum Holitorium (Spes, Iuno Sospita, Ianus); Theatrum Marcelli (plan). *Far right, bottom:* Porticus of late republic (plan).

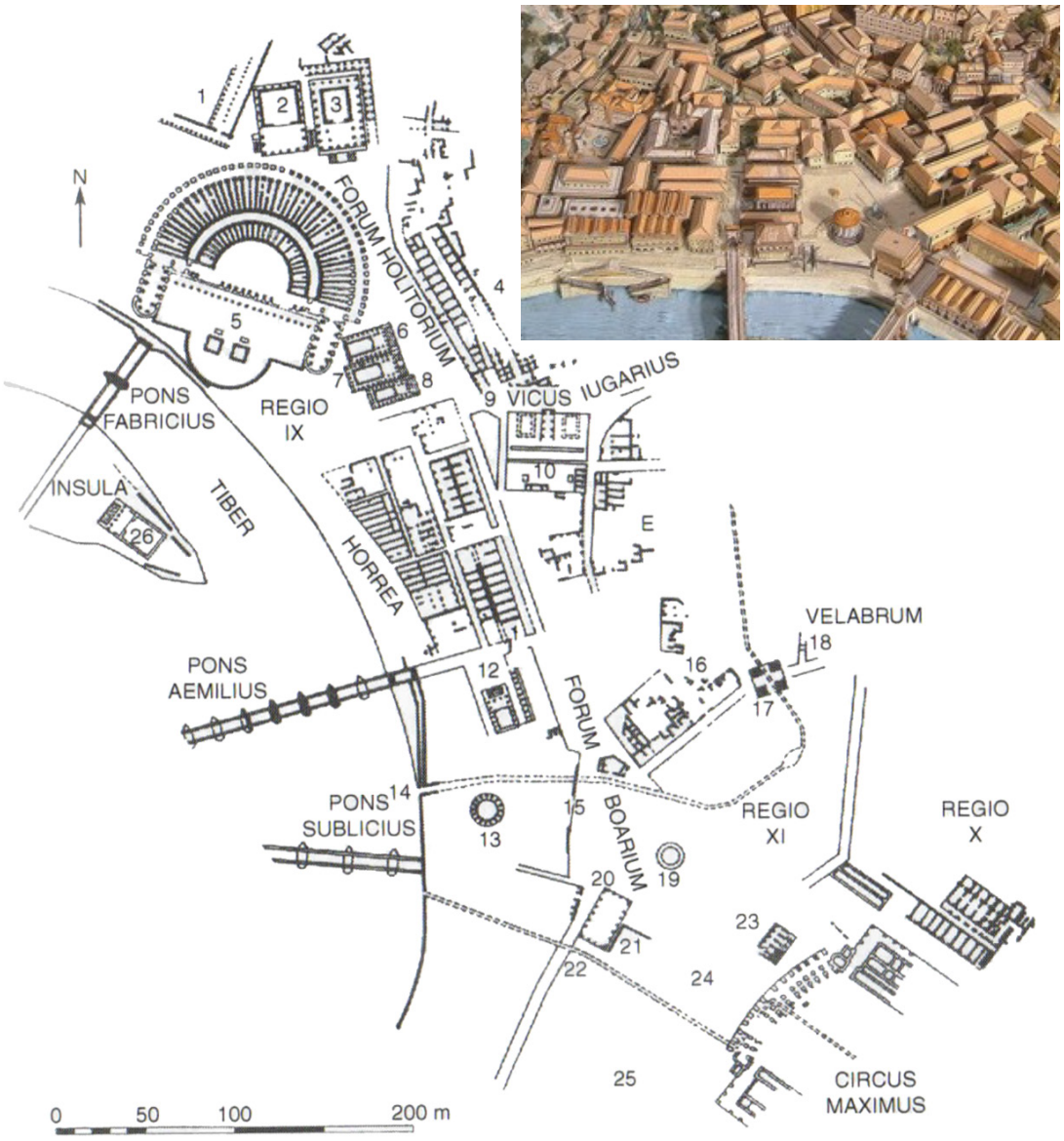


Figure 2.8 The Imperial Forum Boarium

1. Porticuse of Octavia
2. Temple of Apollo
3. Temple of Bellona
4. Porticus Triumphalis
5. Thearte of Marcellus
6. Temple of Janus
7. Temple of Juno Sospita
8. Temple of Spes
9. Porta Carmentalis
10. Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta
11. Porta Flumentana
12. Temple of Portunus
13. Temple of Hercules Victor
14. Cloaca Maxima
15. Republican Walls
16. Imperial buildings
17. Quadrifrons arch
18. Arch of the Argentarii
19. Aedes Aemiliana Herculis
20. Porticus of S. Maria in Cosmedin
21. Ara Maxima
22. Porta Trigemina
23. Mithraeum
24. Aedes Pompeiana Herculis
25. Temple of Ceres
26. Temple of Aesculapius

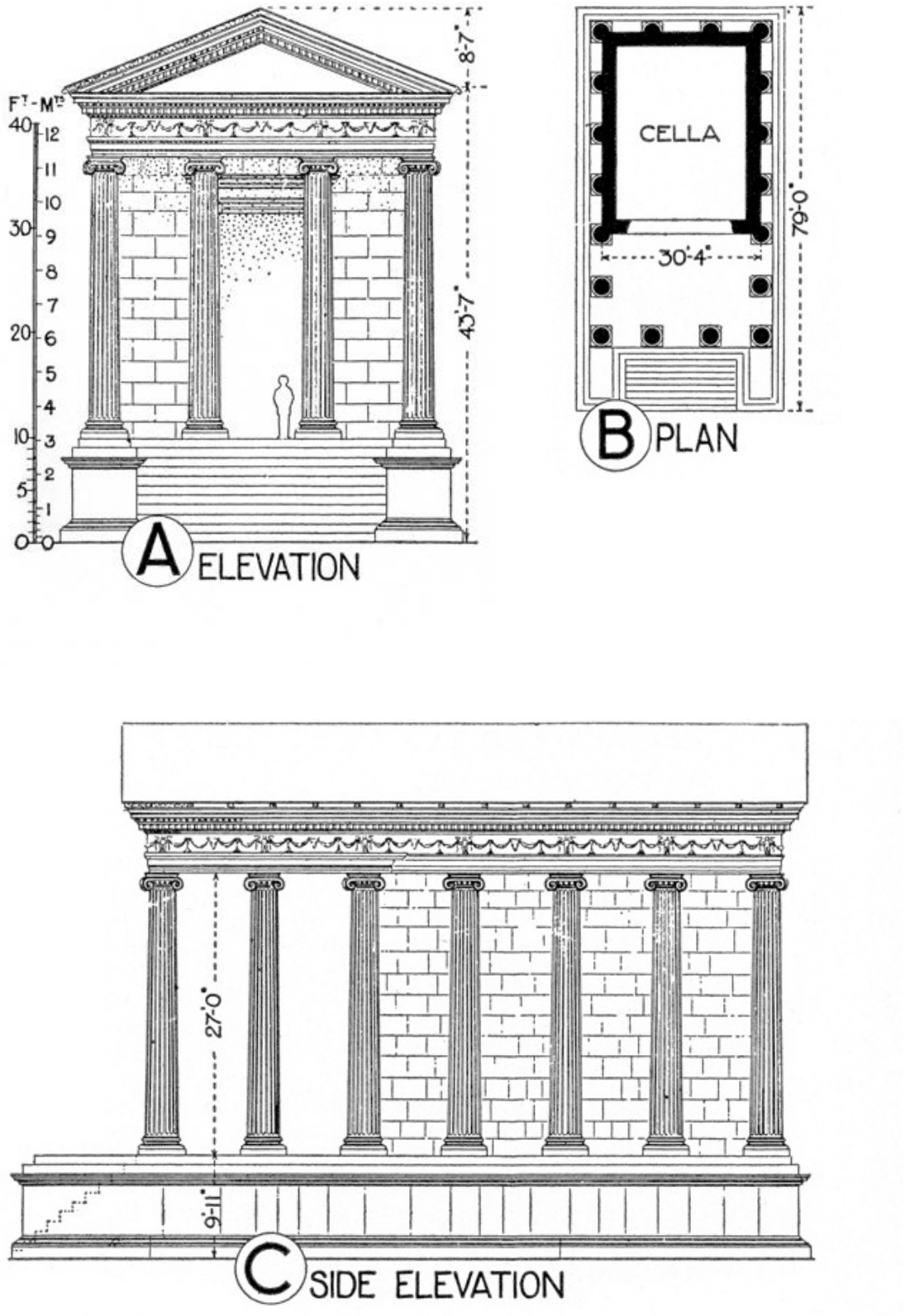


Figure 2.9 Temple of Portunus

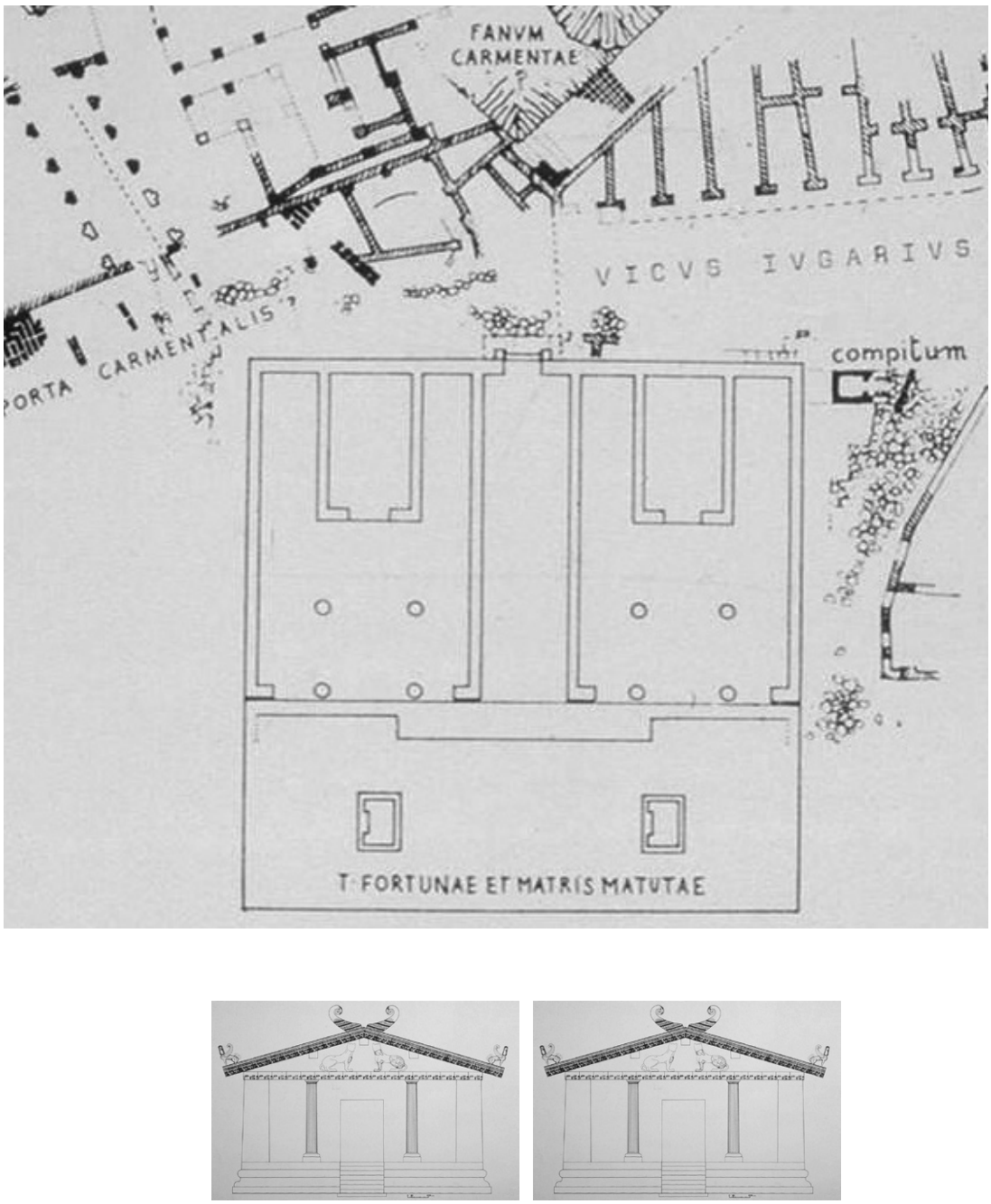


Figure 2.10 Plan and front elevation of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta

Figure 2.11 Arch of the Argentarii

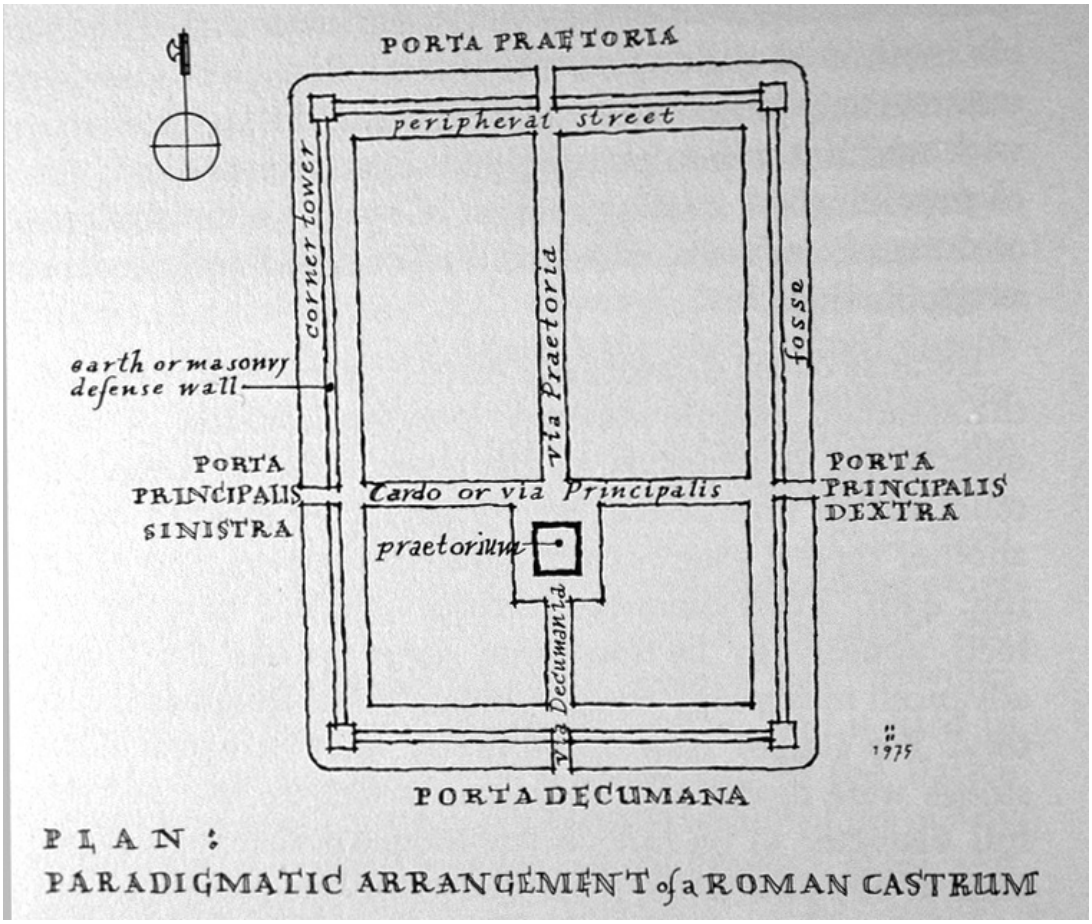


Figure 3.1 Plan of a Roman *castrum*

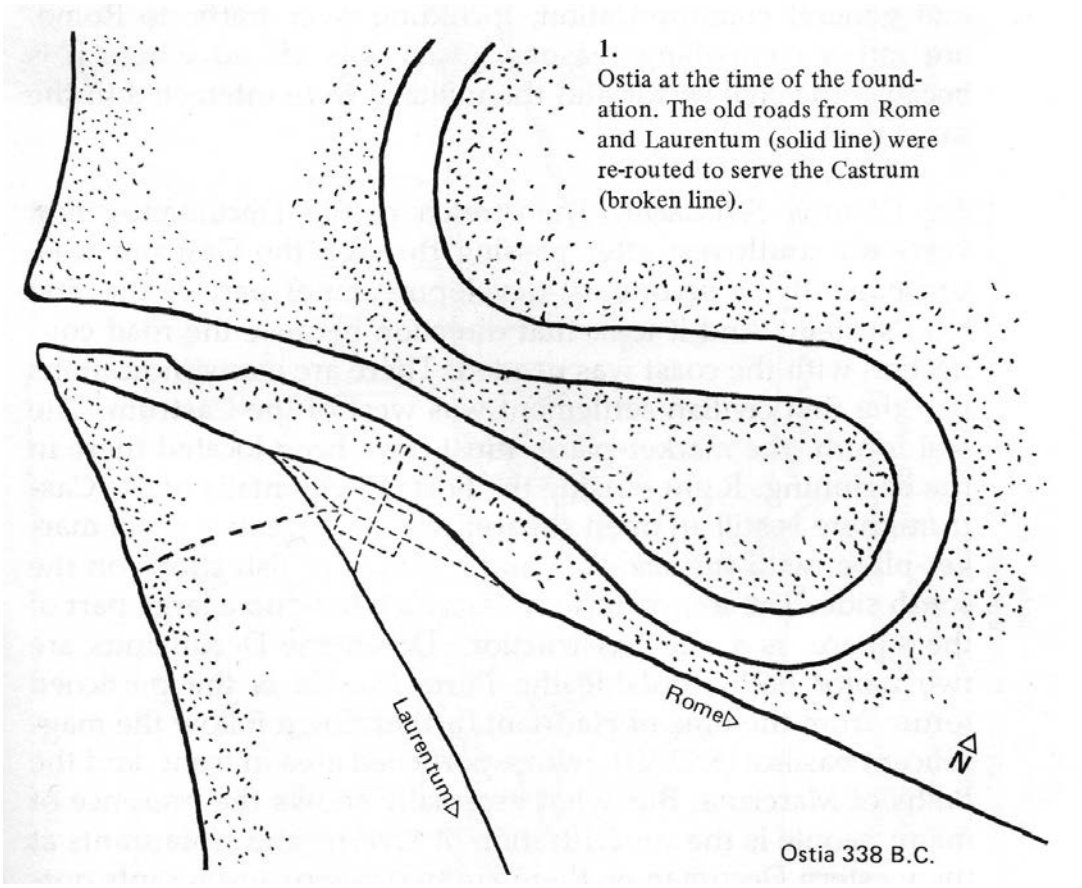


Figure 3.2 Ostia's site

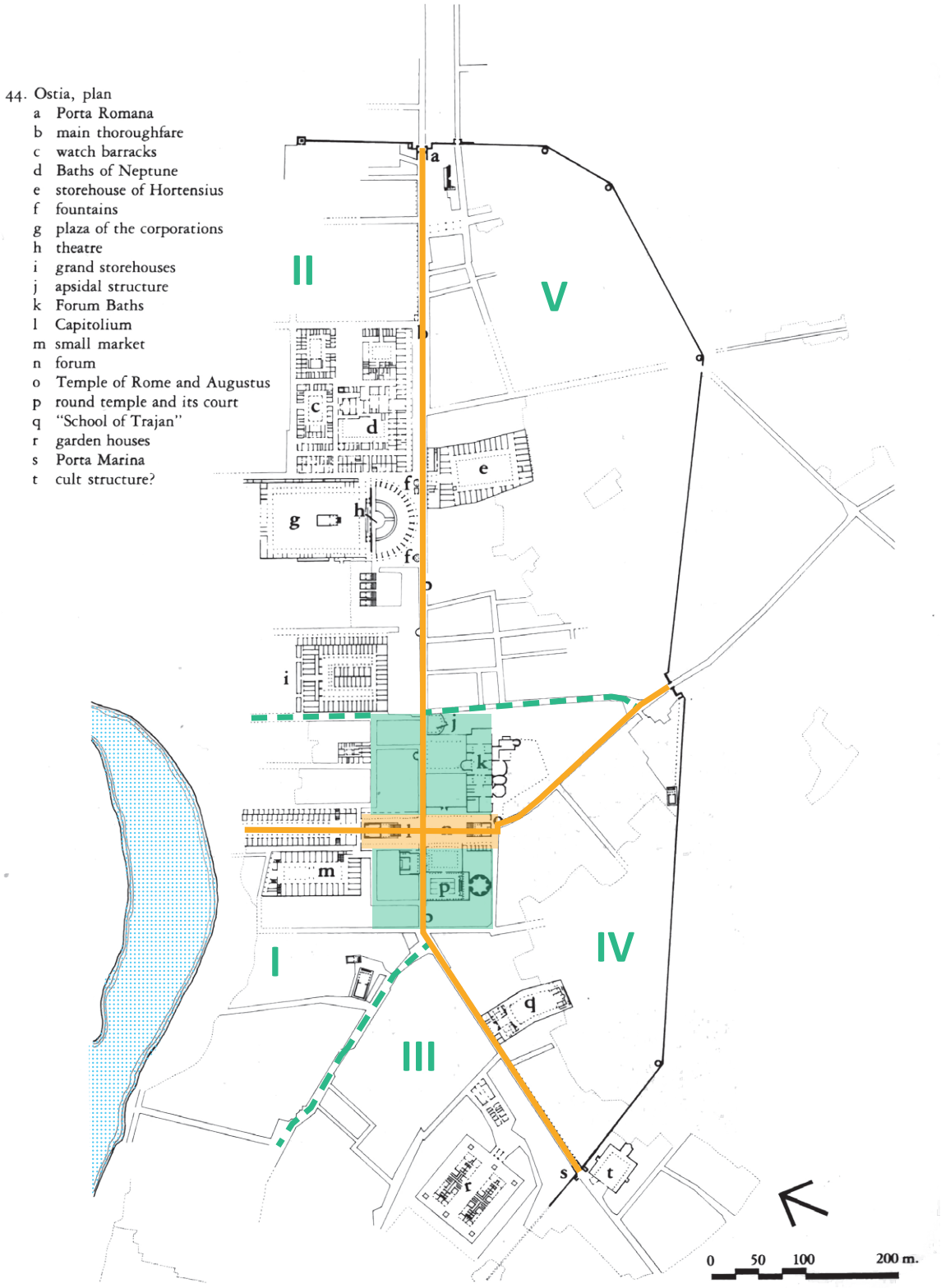


Figure 3.3 Plan of Ostia

Overview of Major Building Works in Ostia by century and region

Fourth century B.C.

- the castrum
- a handful of buildings located on the decumanus just east and west of the castrum

Third century B.C.

- Buildings in the north-west corner of the castrum
- tabernae outside the castrum walls to the east

Second century B.C.

- three houses were added inside the castrum walls in the second half of the century
- thirteen structures were added in Regions III and Iv
- three buildings were added in Region V along the eastern end of the decumanus

First century B.C.

- Regions III and IV – seven buildings in the first half of the century, two from the mid-first century, and eight from the second half of the century
- Region V – five buildings
- Region I – eight buildings
- Region II – four buildings (theatre, two temples, and a horrea)

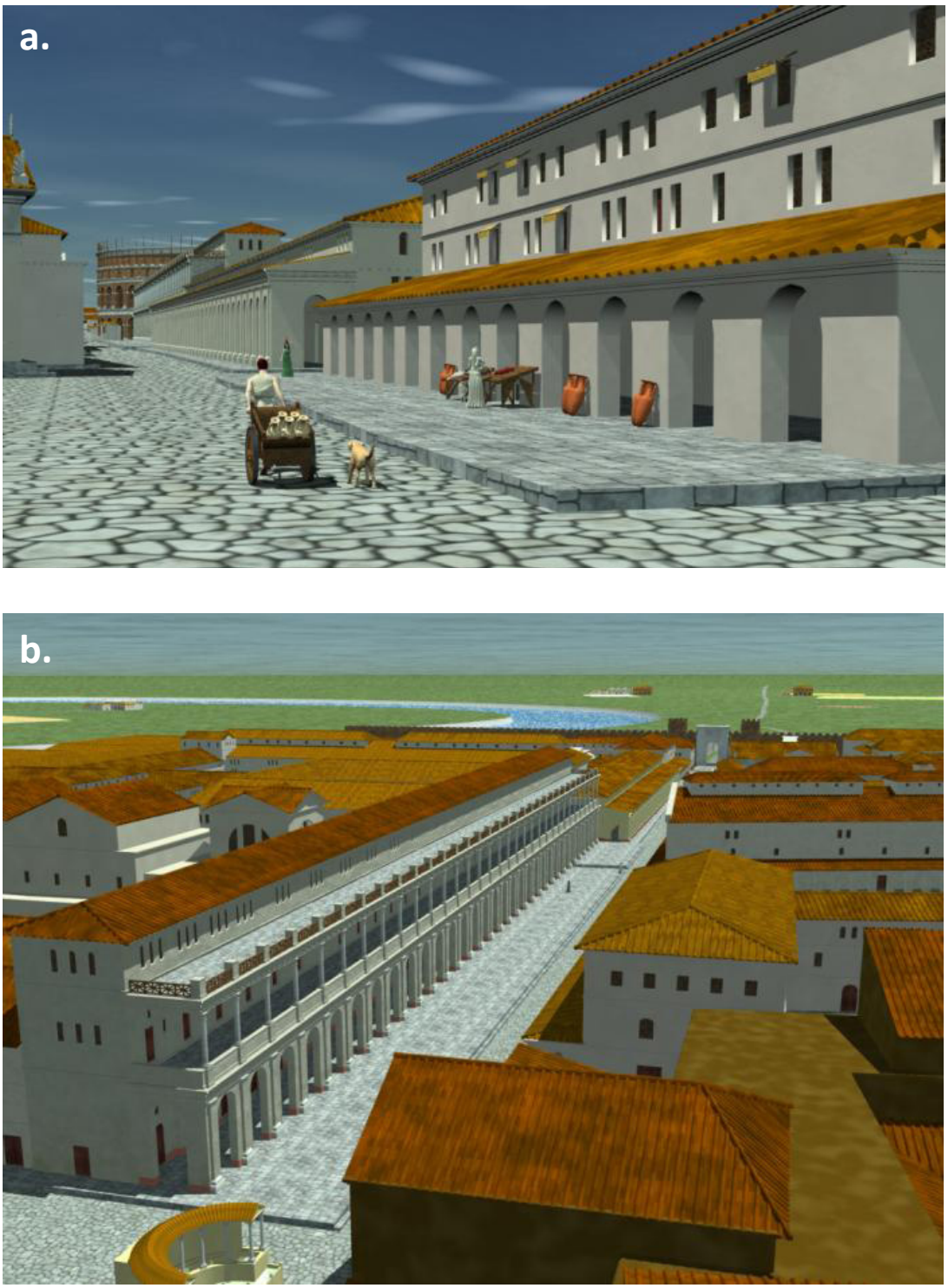


Figure 3.4 Ostia's *decumanus*

a. looking west from the Porta Romana towards the theatre
b. looking east from the theatre to the Porta Romana

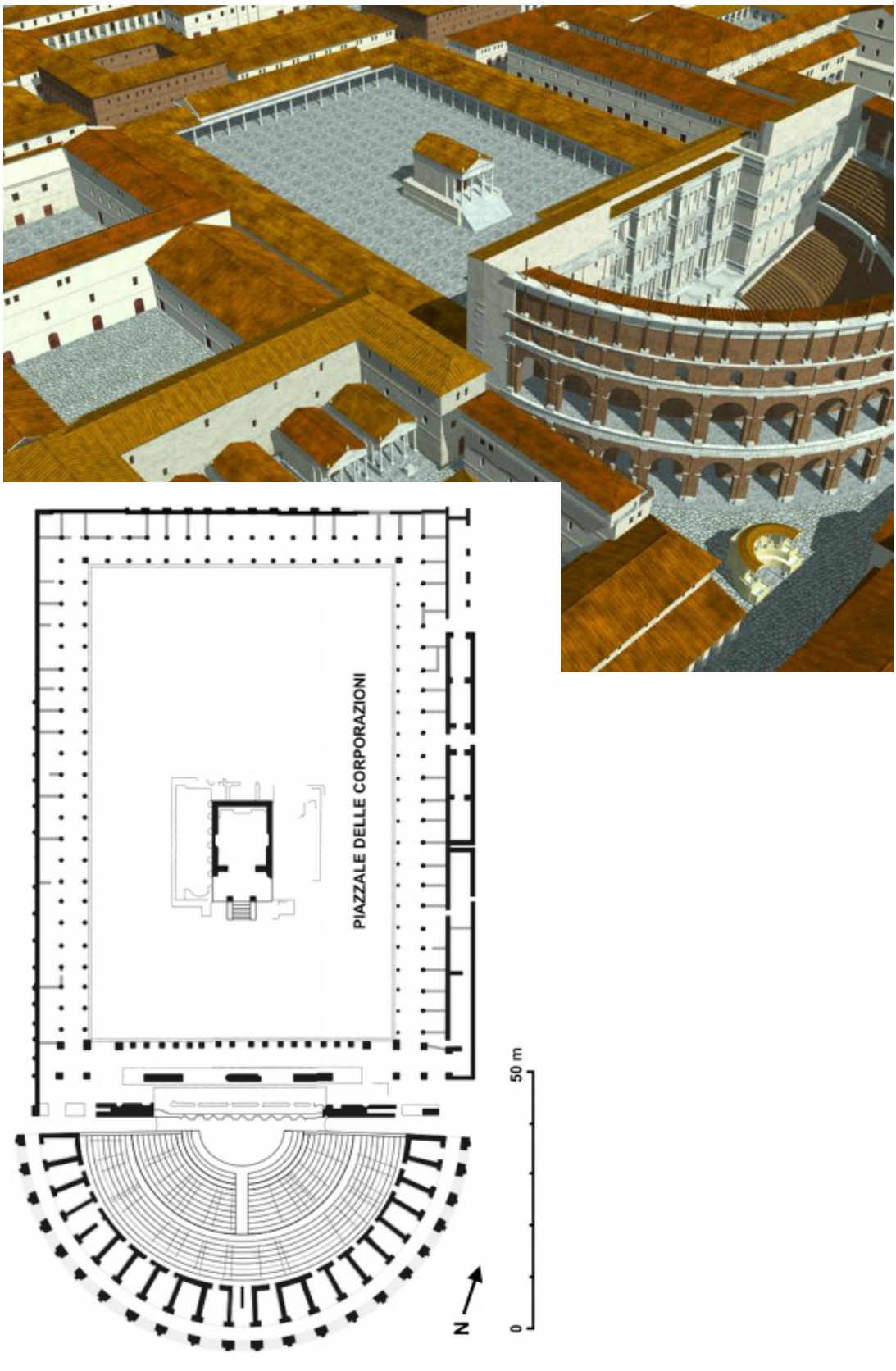


Figure 3.5 Ostia's Piazzale delle Corporazioni

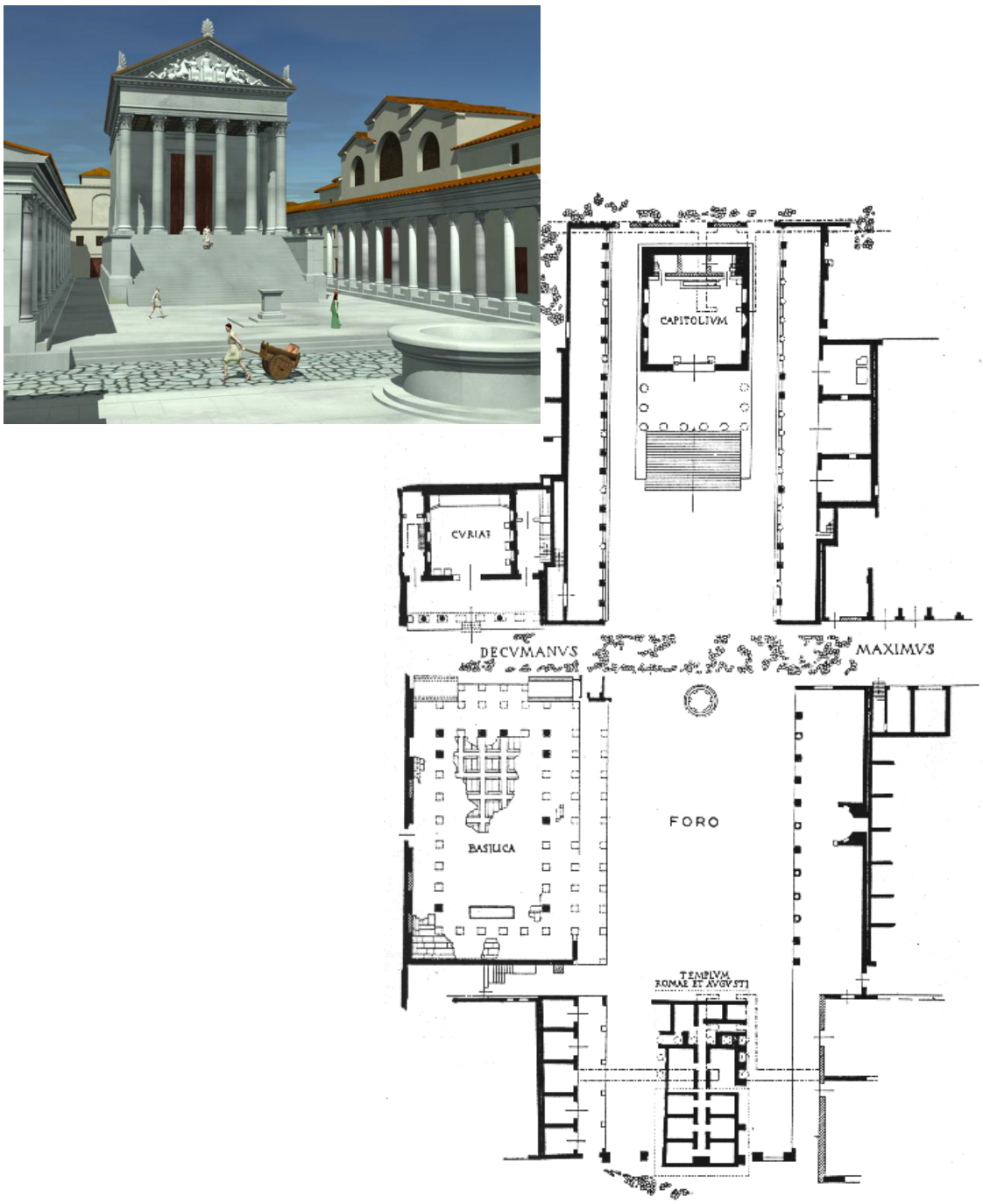


Figure 3.6 Ostia's Forum

Figure 3.7 Forum district Ostia

a. *decumanus*
b. Forum
c. Forum della Statua Eroica
d. Piazza dei Lari
e. Thermopolium of Via di Diana
f. northeast *stoa*
g. Via di Diana

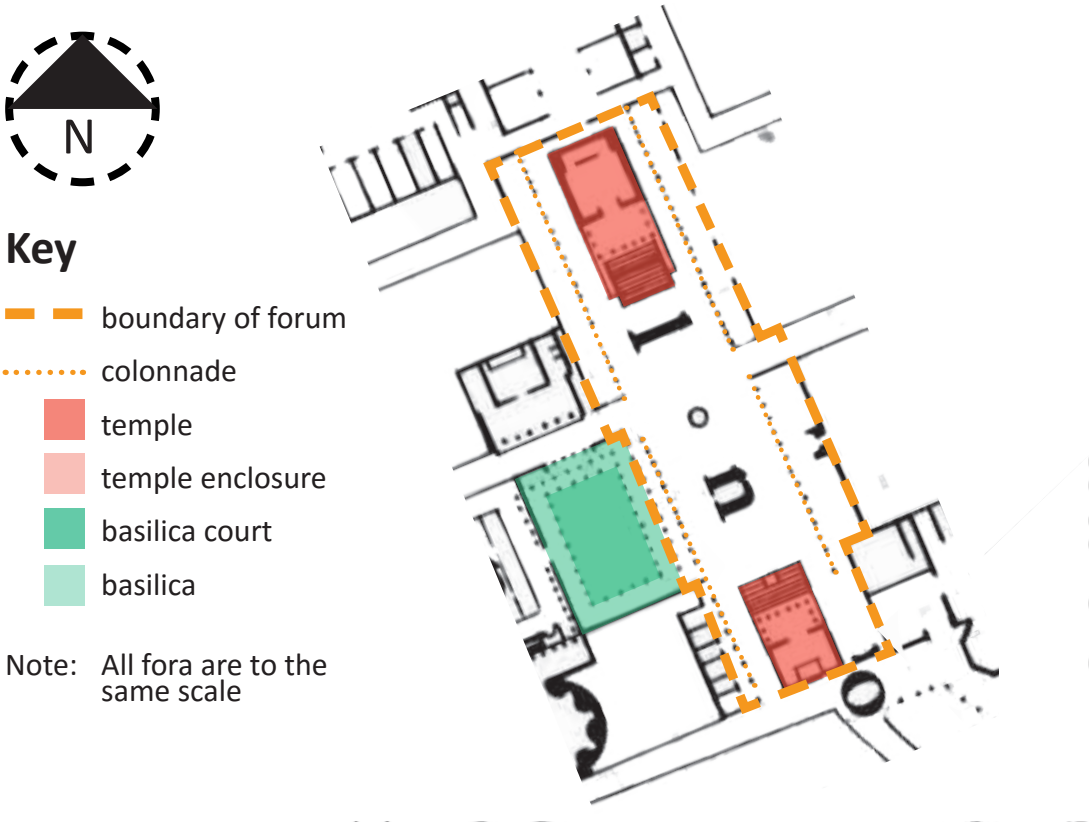


Figure 3.8 Ostia's Forum

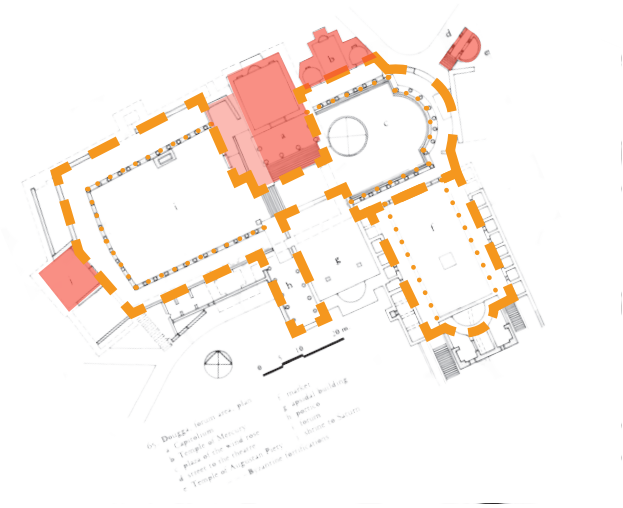


Figure 3.9 Dougga's Forum

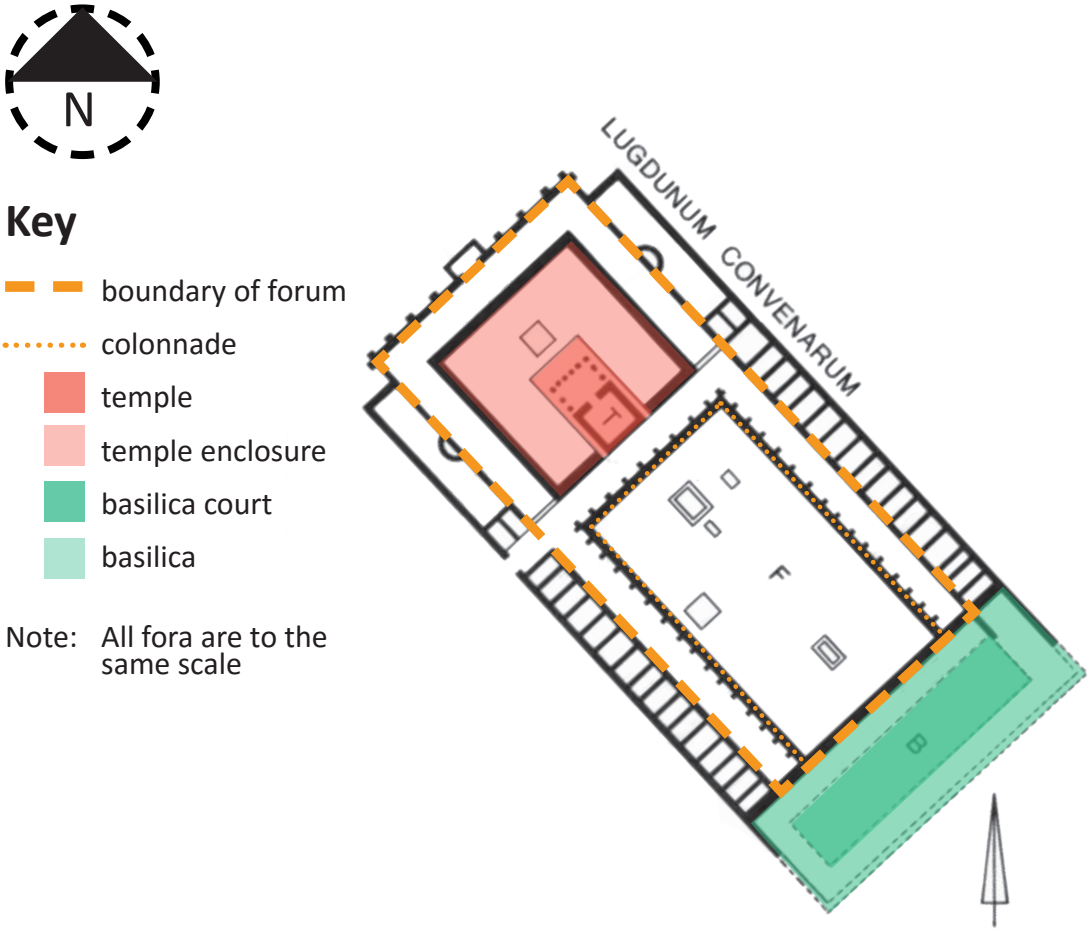


Figure 3.10 Lugdunum Covenarum's Forum

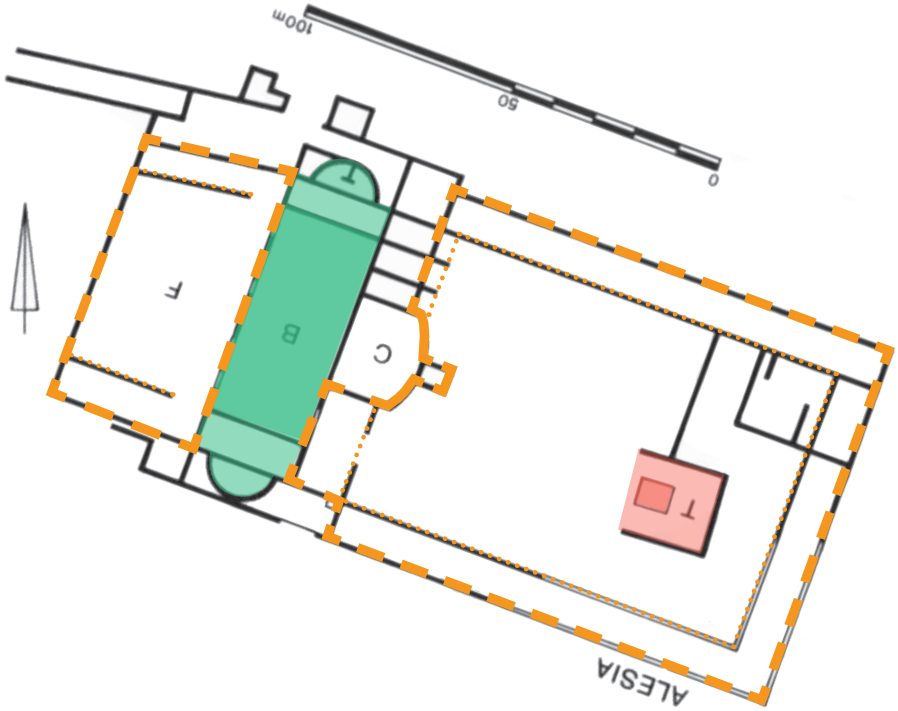


Figure 3.11 Alesia's Forum

Key

- boundary of forum
- colonnade
- temple
- temple enclosure
- basilica court
- basilica

Note: All fora are to the same scale

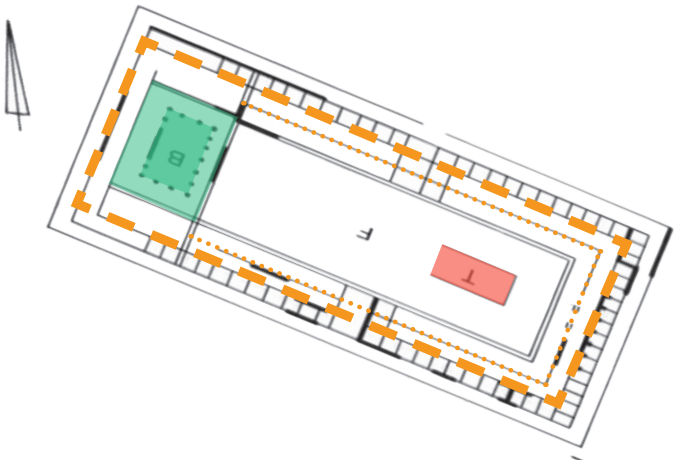


Figure 3.12 Lutetia's Forum

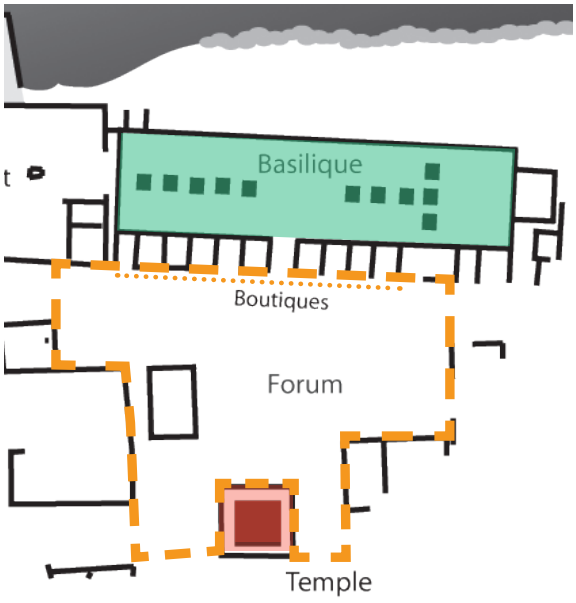


Figure 3.13 Lousonna's Forum

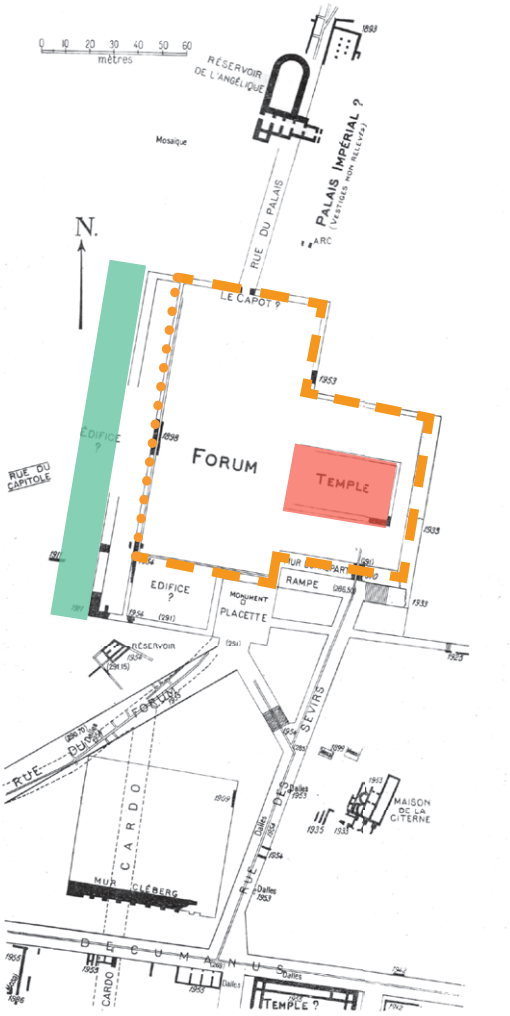
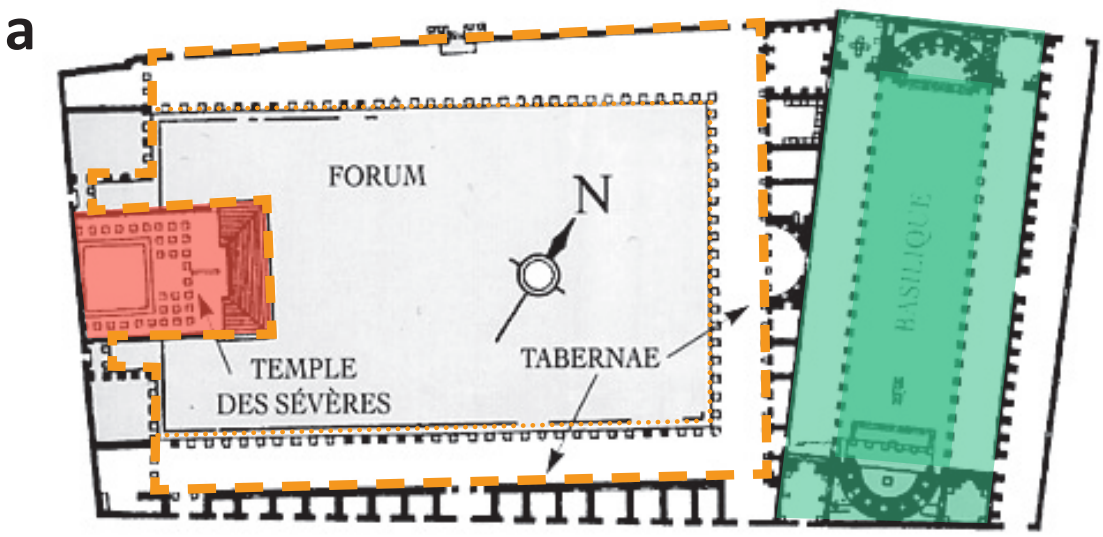


Figure 3.14 Lyon's Forum

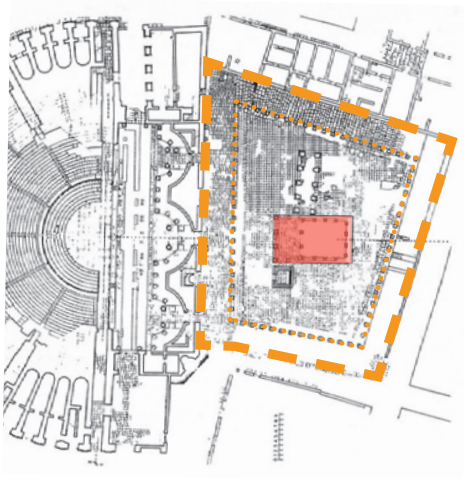


Key

- boundary of forum
- colonnade
- temple
- temple enclosure
- basilica court
- basilica

Note: All fora are to the same scale

b



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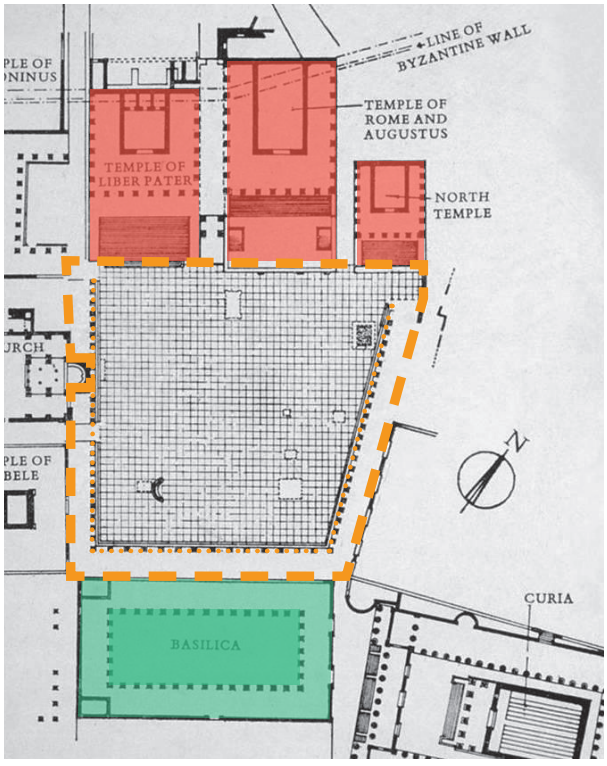


Figure 3.15 Fora of Lepcis Magna

a. Ancient Forum
b. Theatre Forum
c. Severan Forum

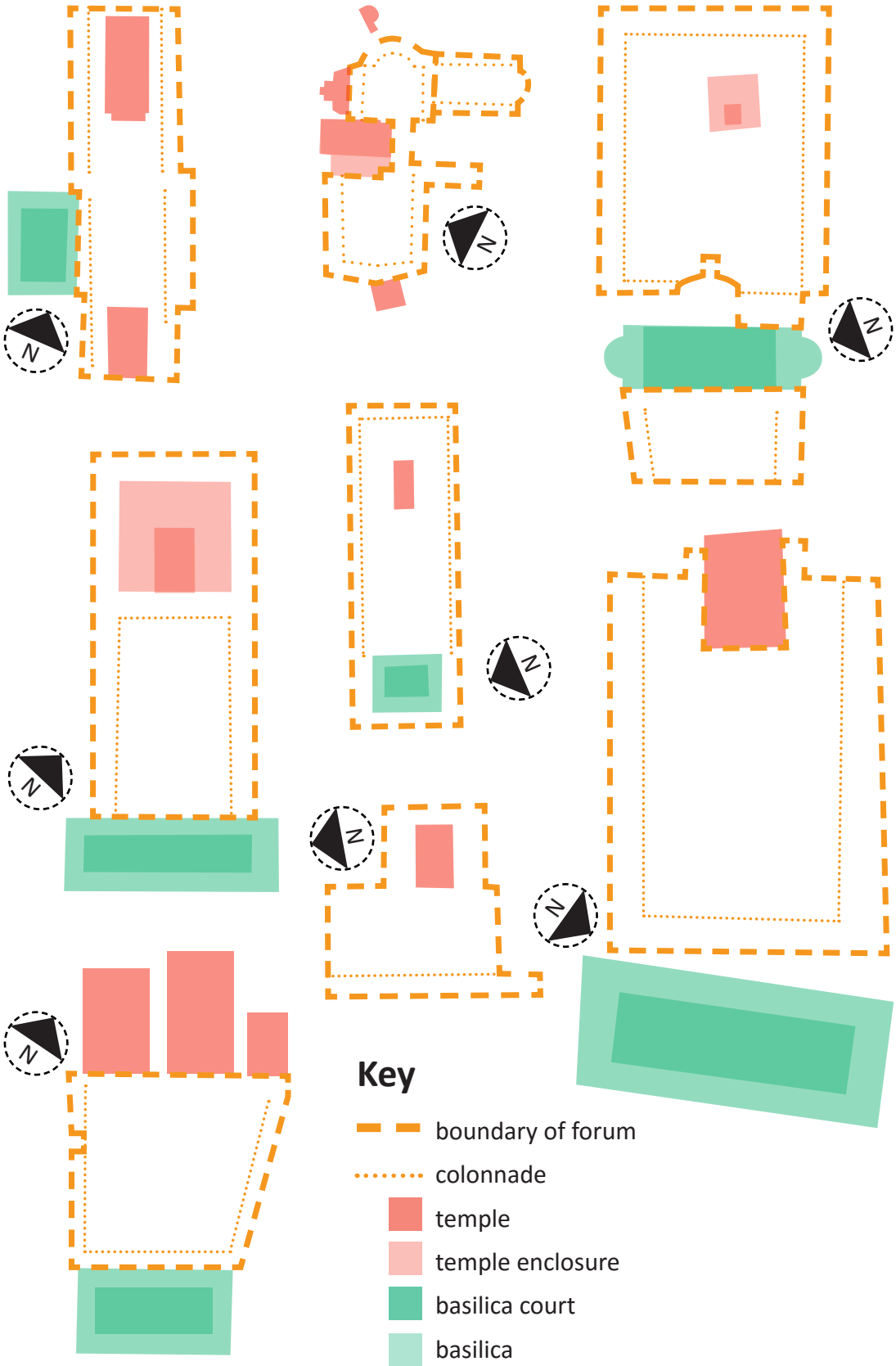


Figure 3.16 Colonial fora comparison

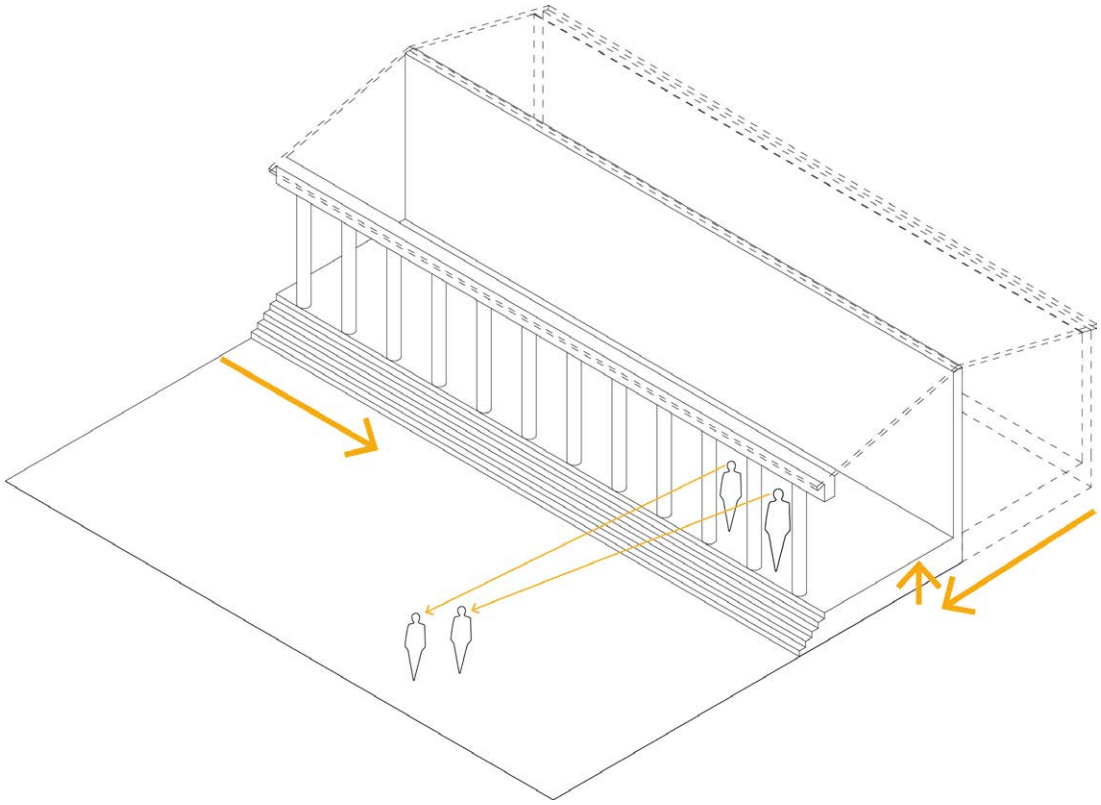


Figure 3.17 Diagram of the adaptation of the stoa form type seen in Ostia

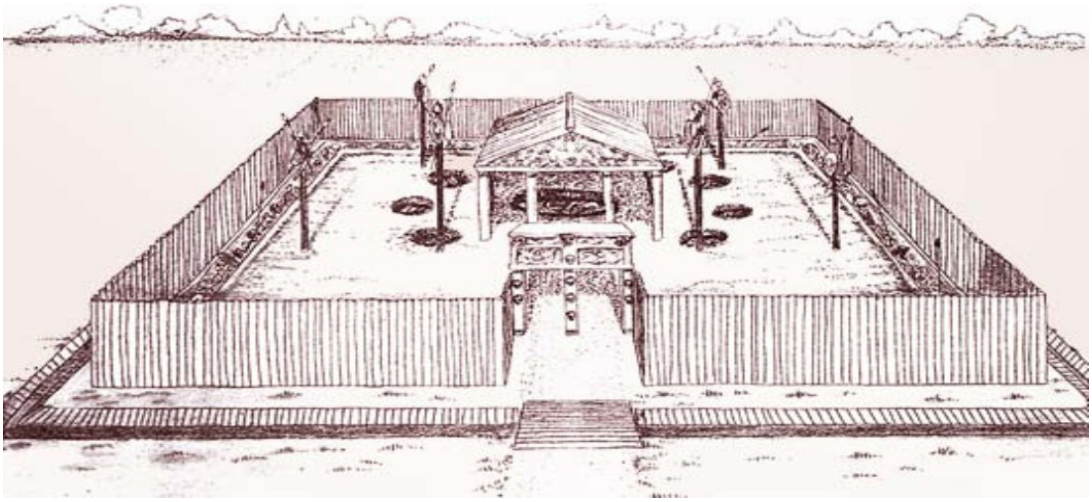


Figure 4.1 reconstruction of the wooden structure built to replace a grouping of ceremonial pits at the Gallic sanctuary at Gournay

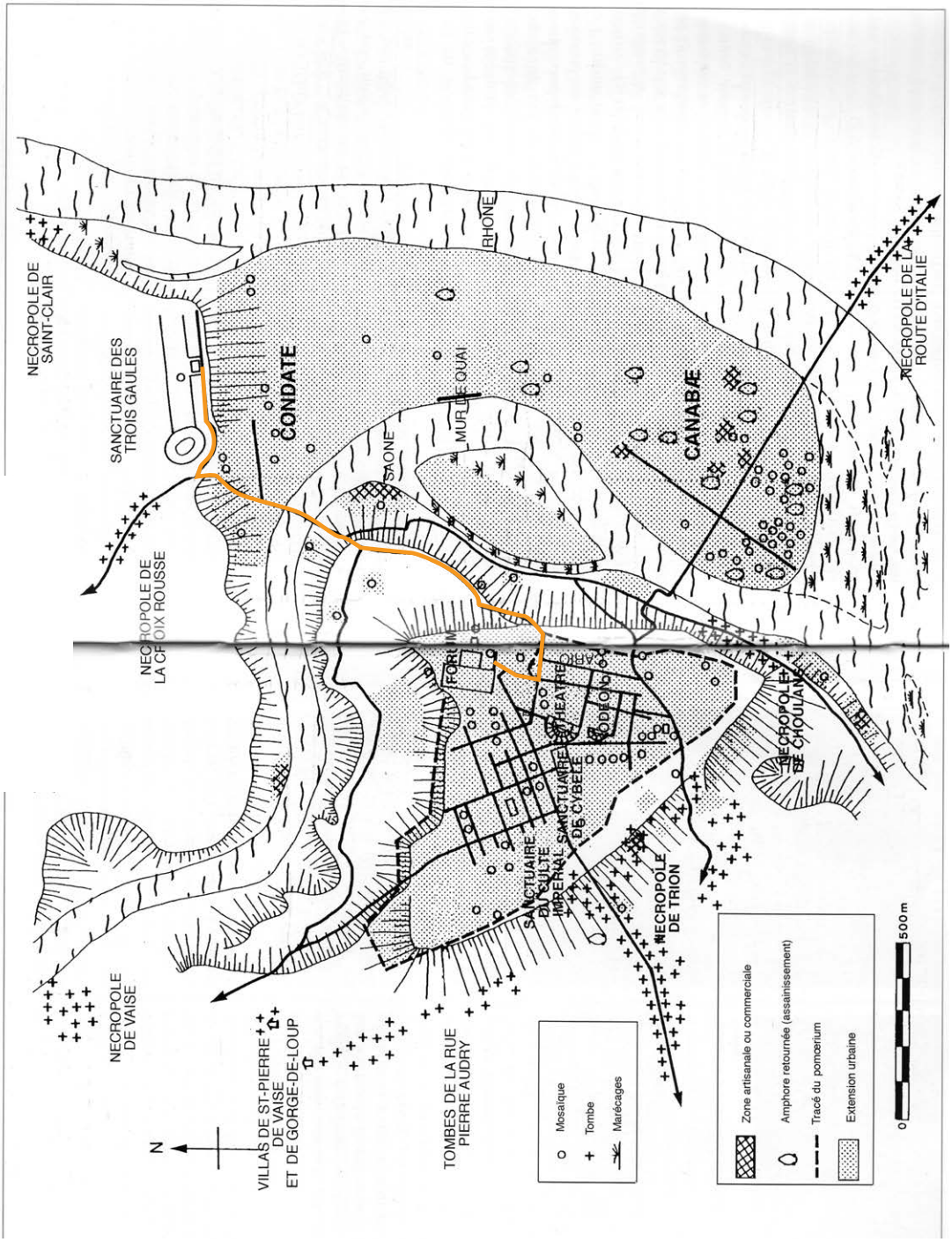


Figure 4.2 Lyon's site

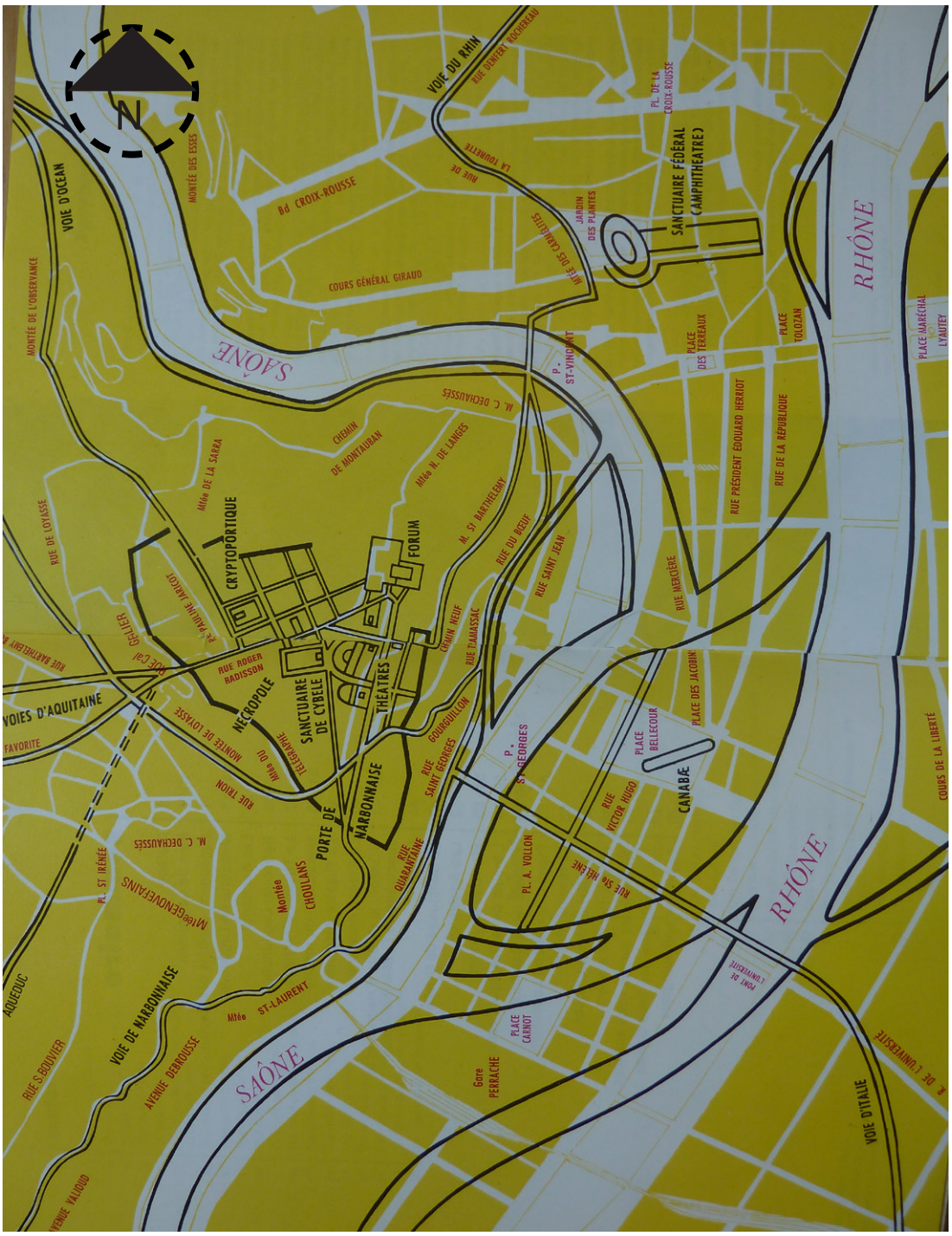


Figure 4.3 Lyon's site with modern Lyon

Figure 4.4 Lyon's topography

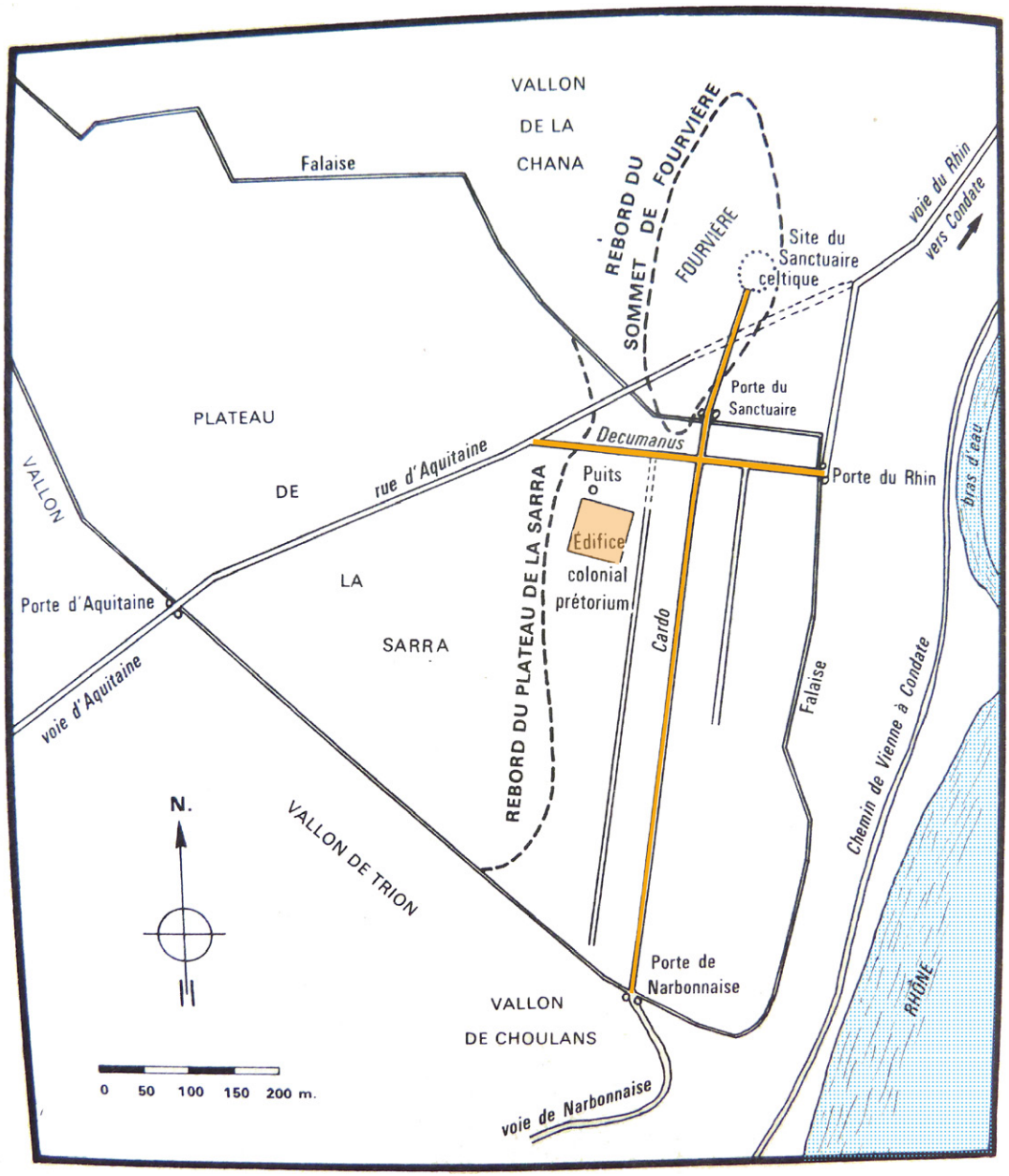


Figure 4.5 Early Lyon

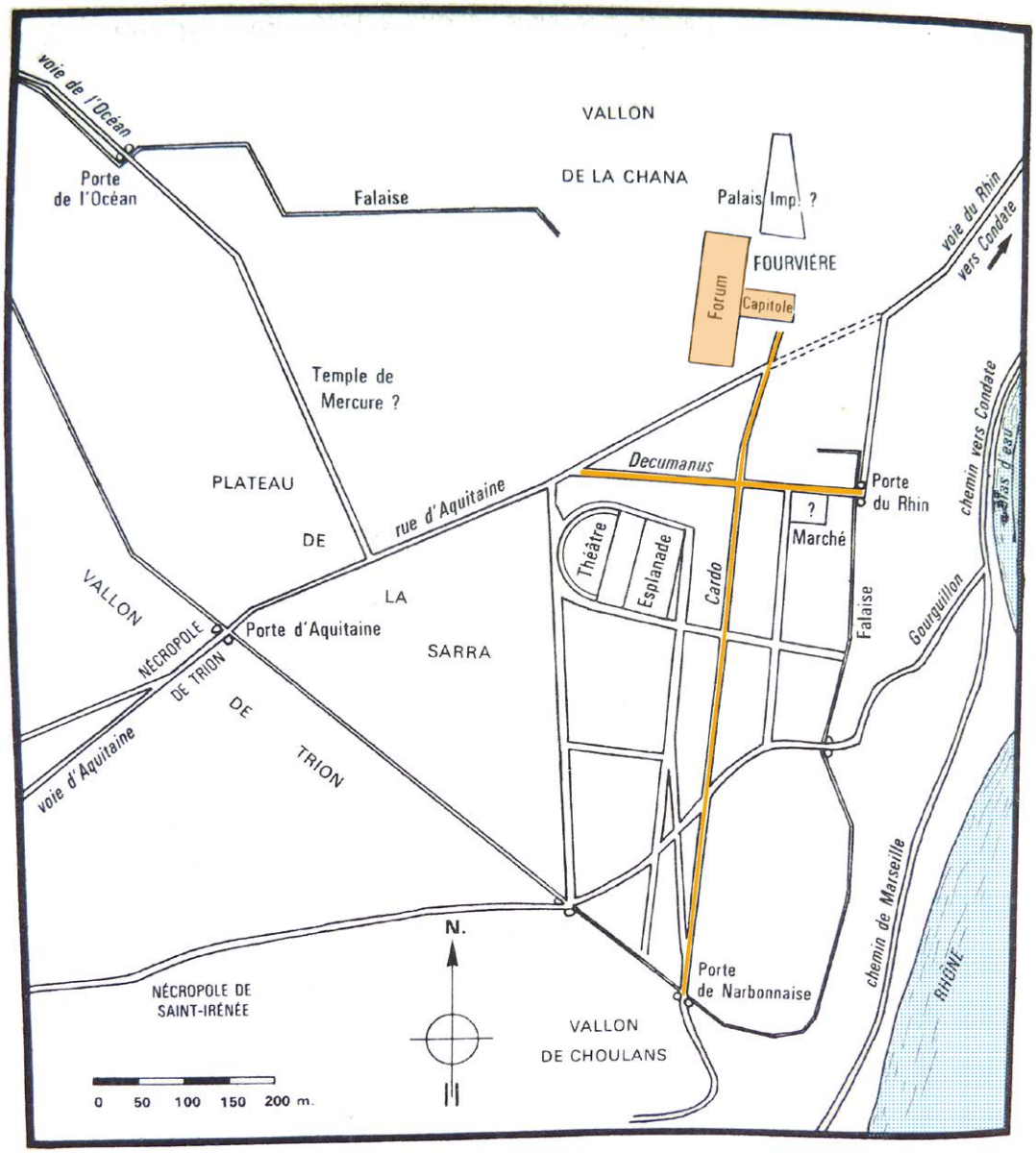


Figure 4.6 Augustan Lyon

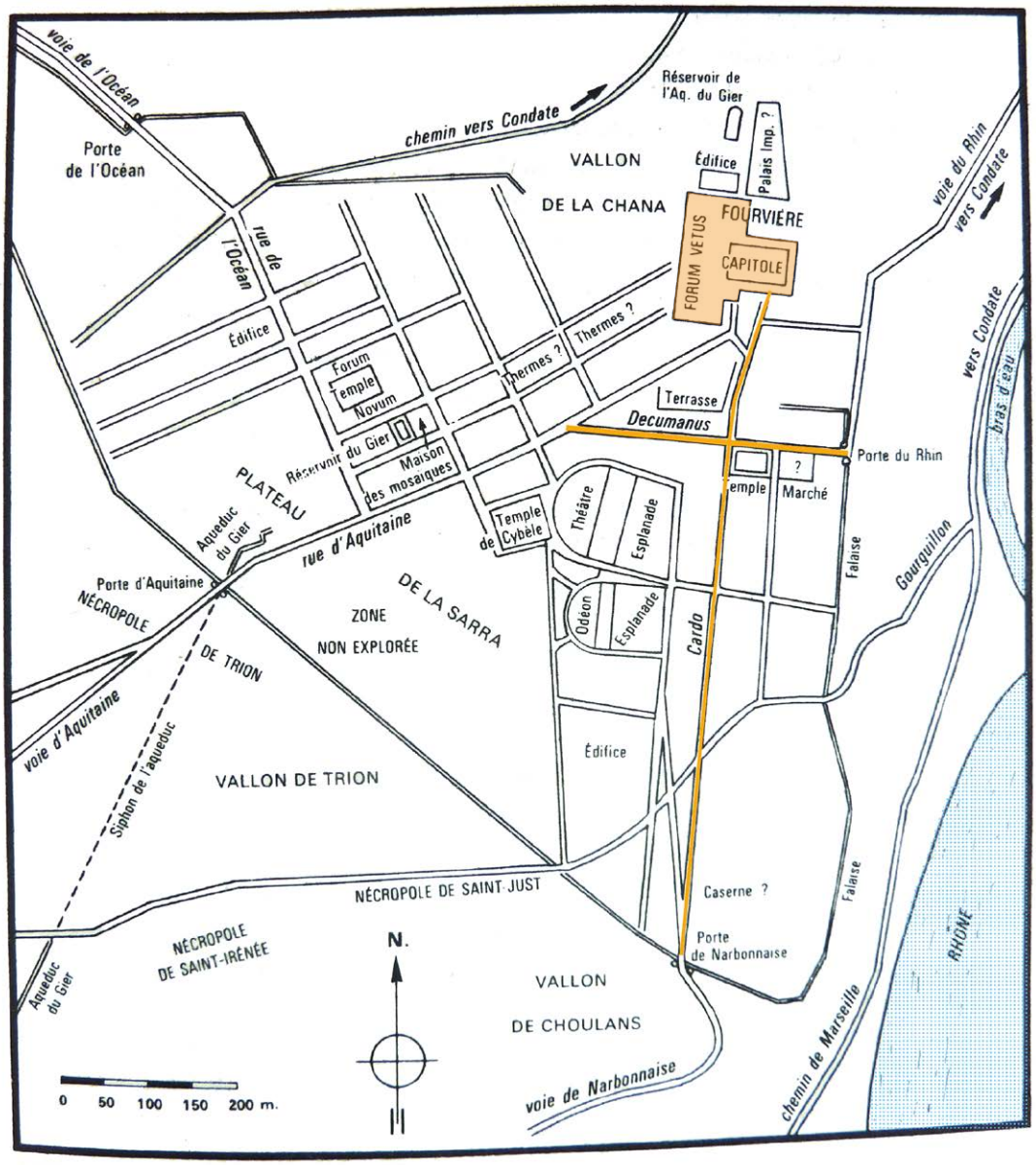


Figure 4.7 Antonin Lyon

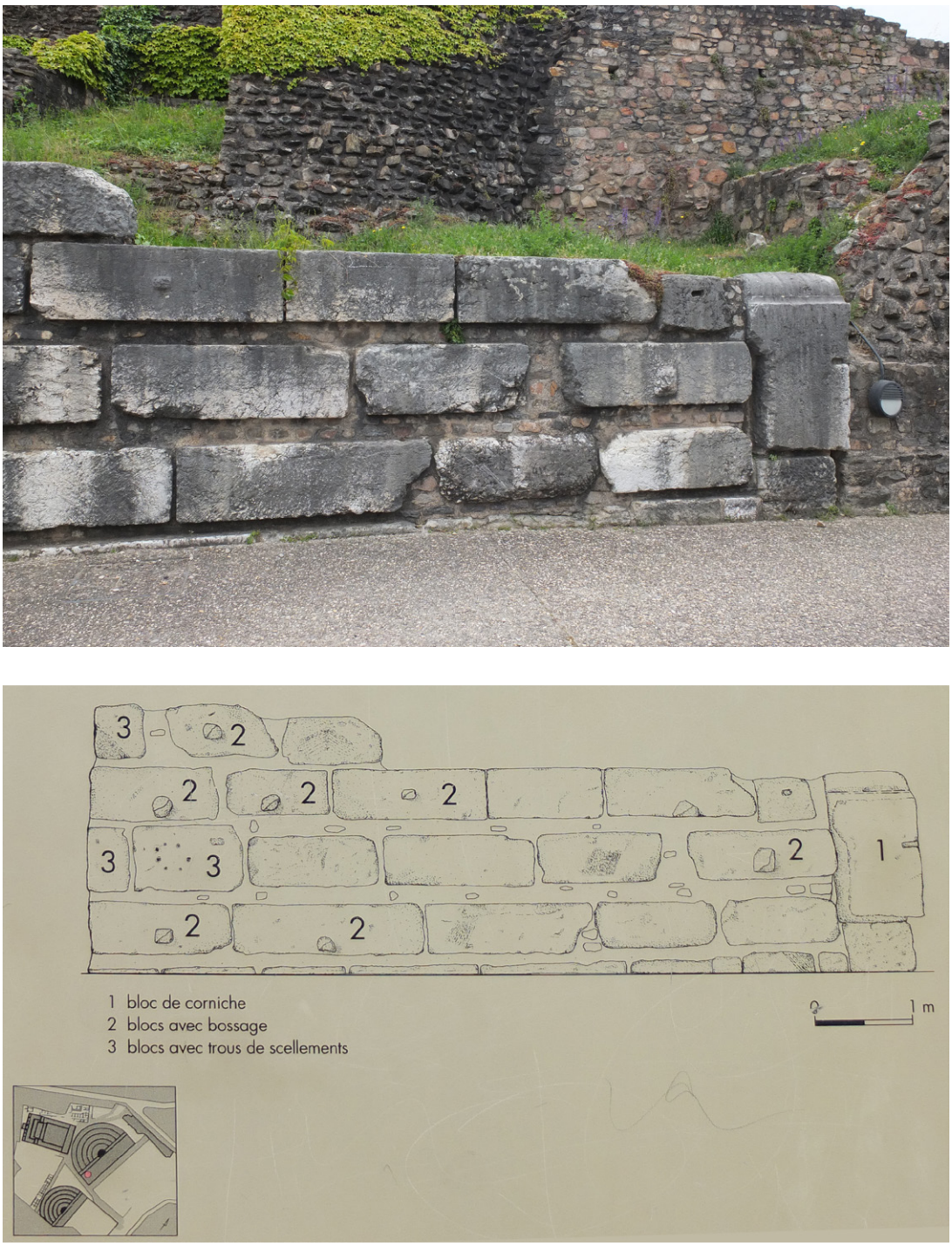


Figure 4.8 Reused stone (possibly from an earlier forum) in the Augustan theatre wall

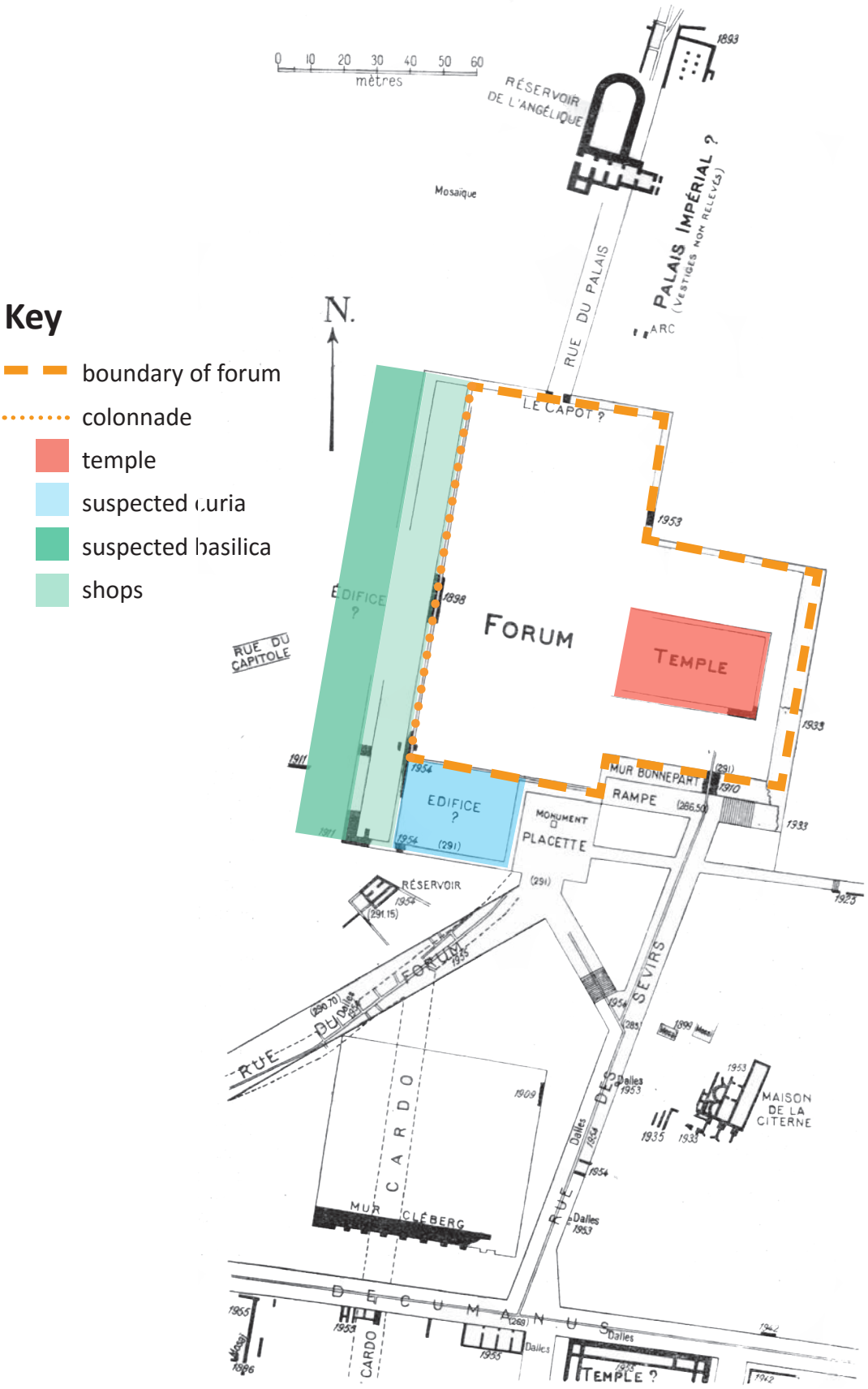


Figure 4.9 Plan of Lyon's Augustan Forum

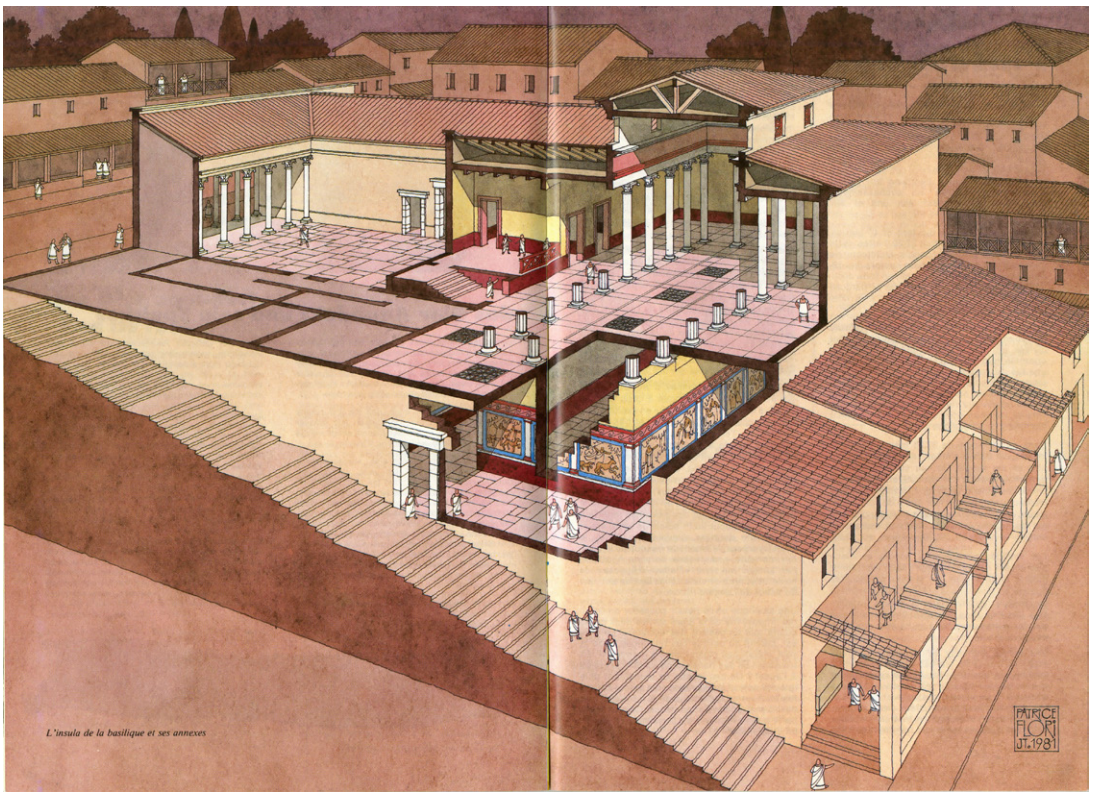


Figure 4.10 Possible reconstruction of Lyon's basilica

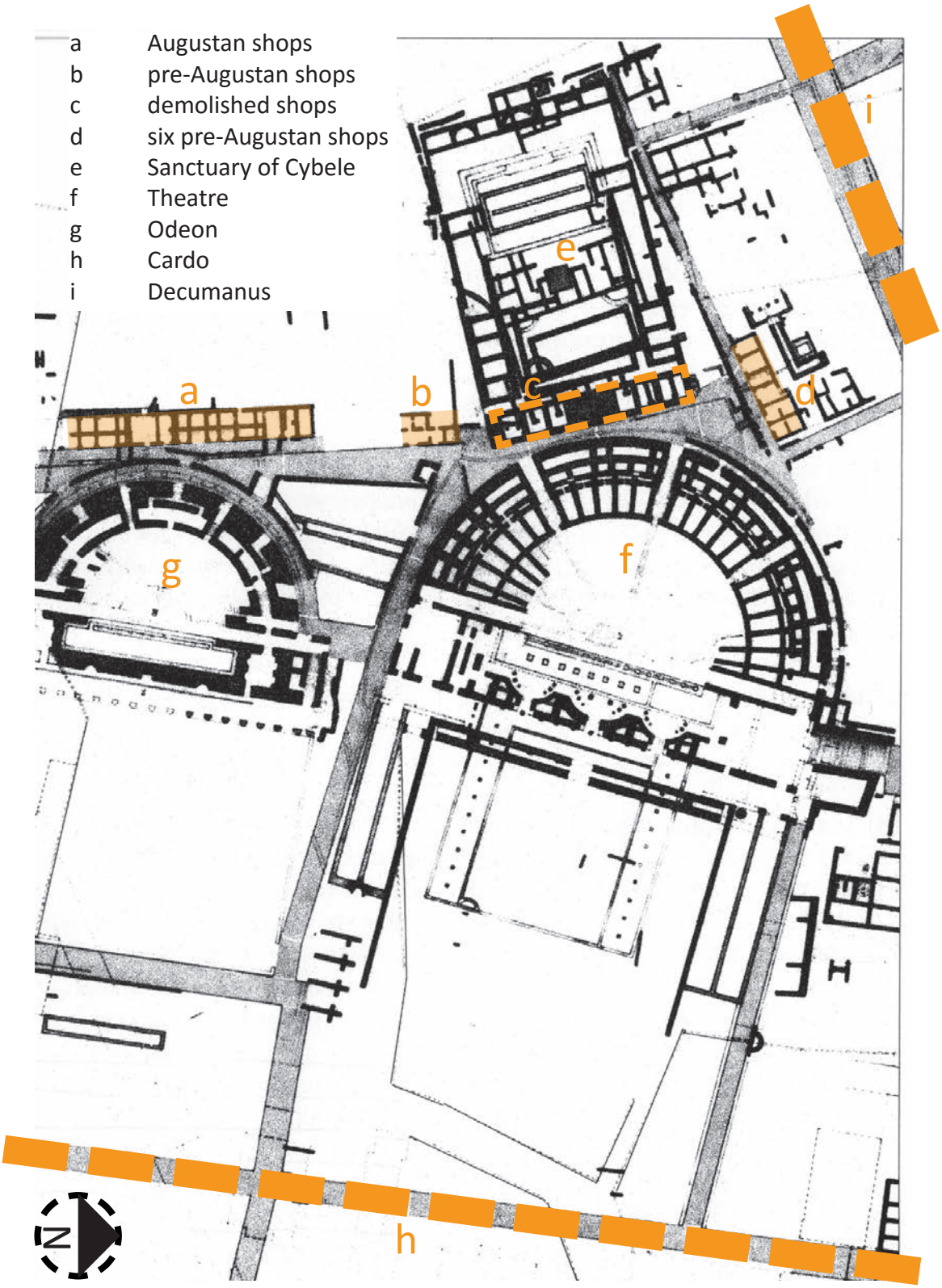


Figure 4.11 Plan of Lyon's theatre district

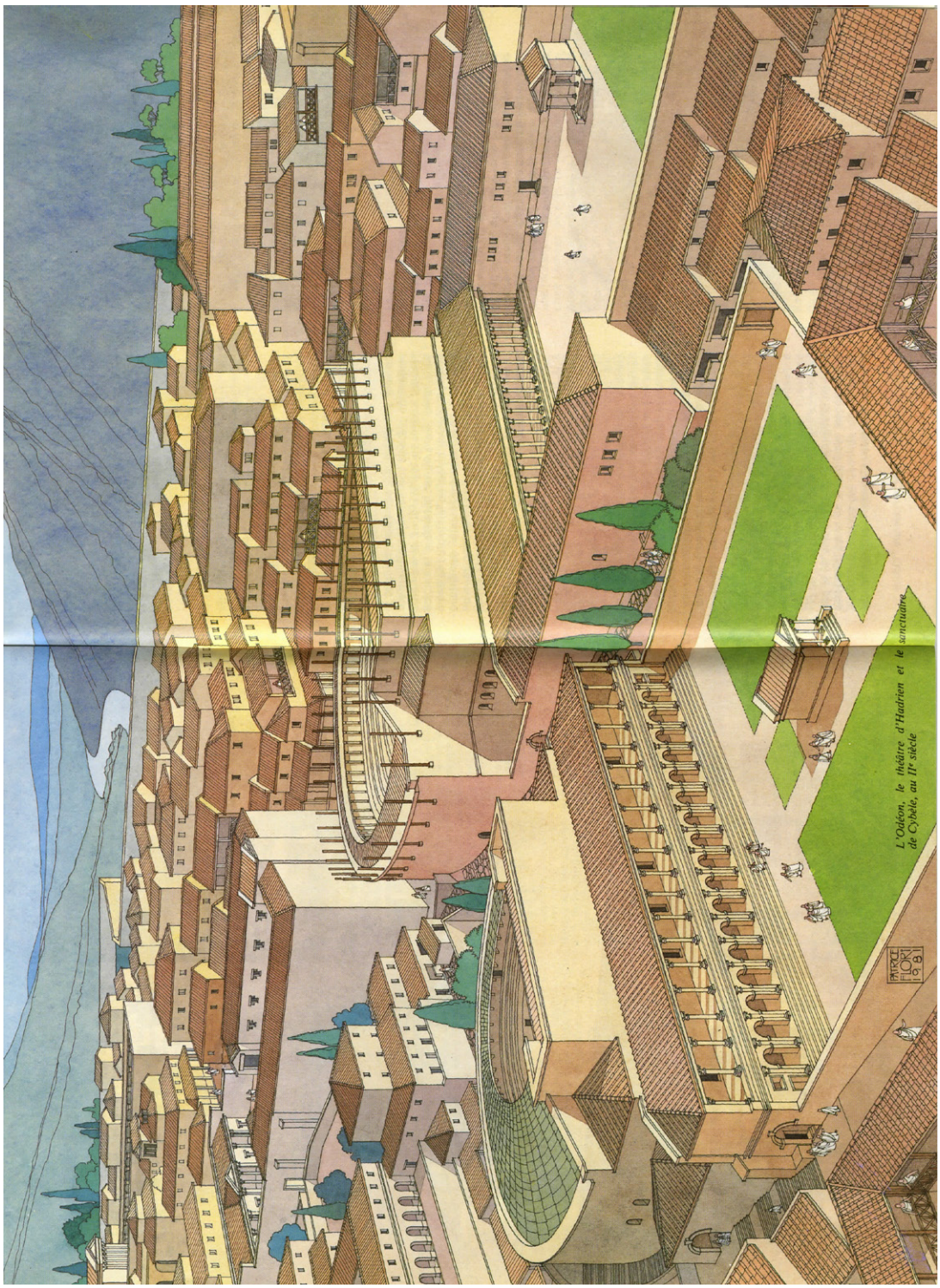


Figure 4.12 Illustration of Lyon's theatre district

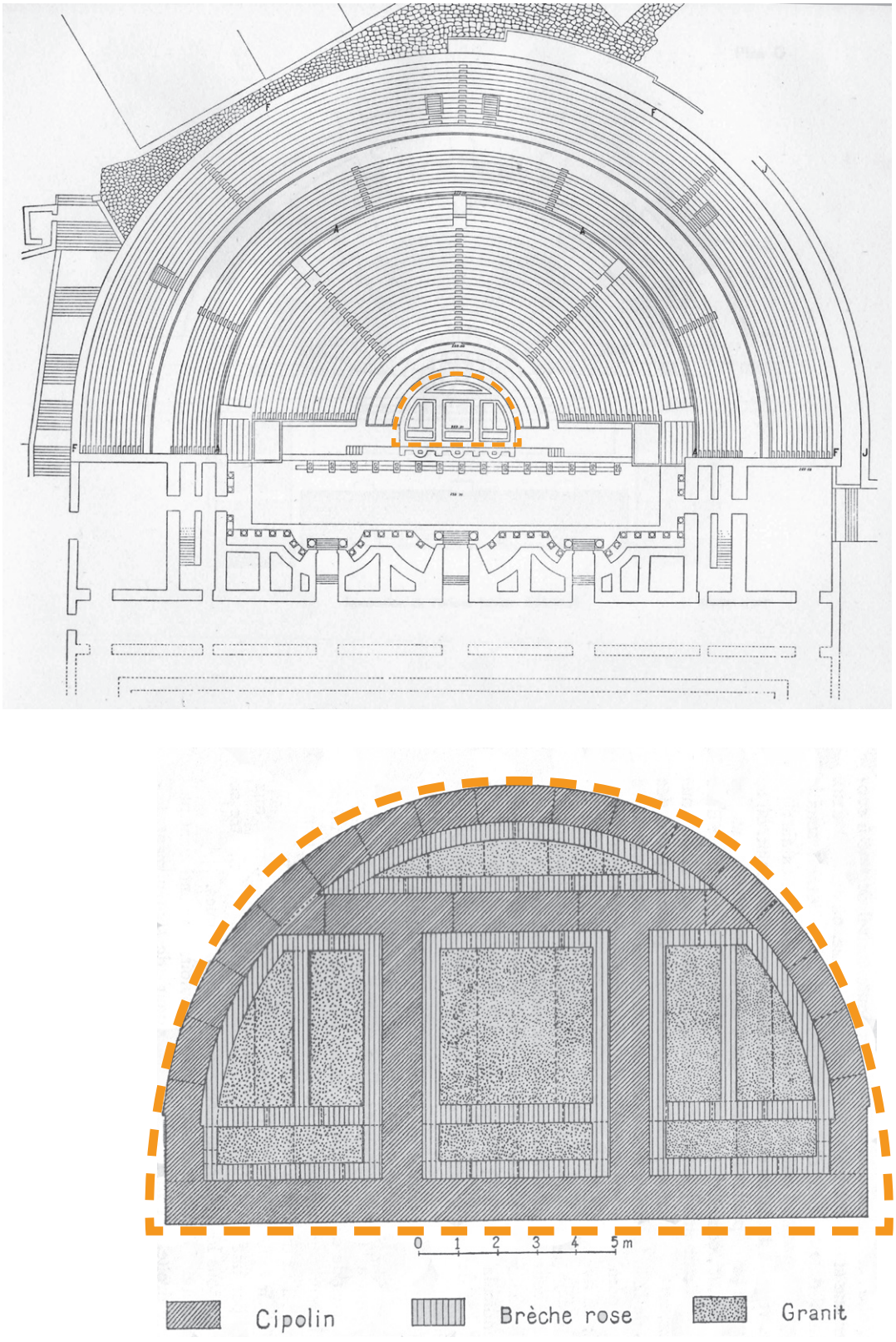


Figure 4.13 Plan and paving detail of Lyon's Augustan Theatre

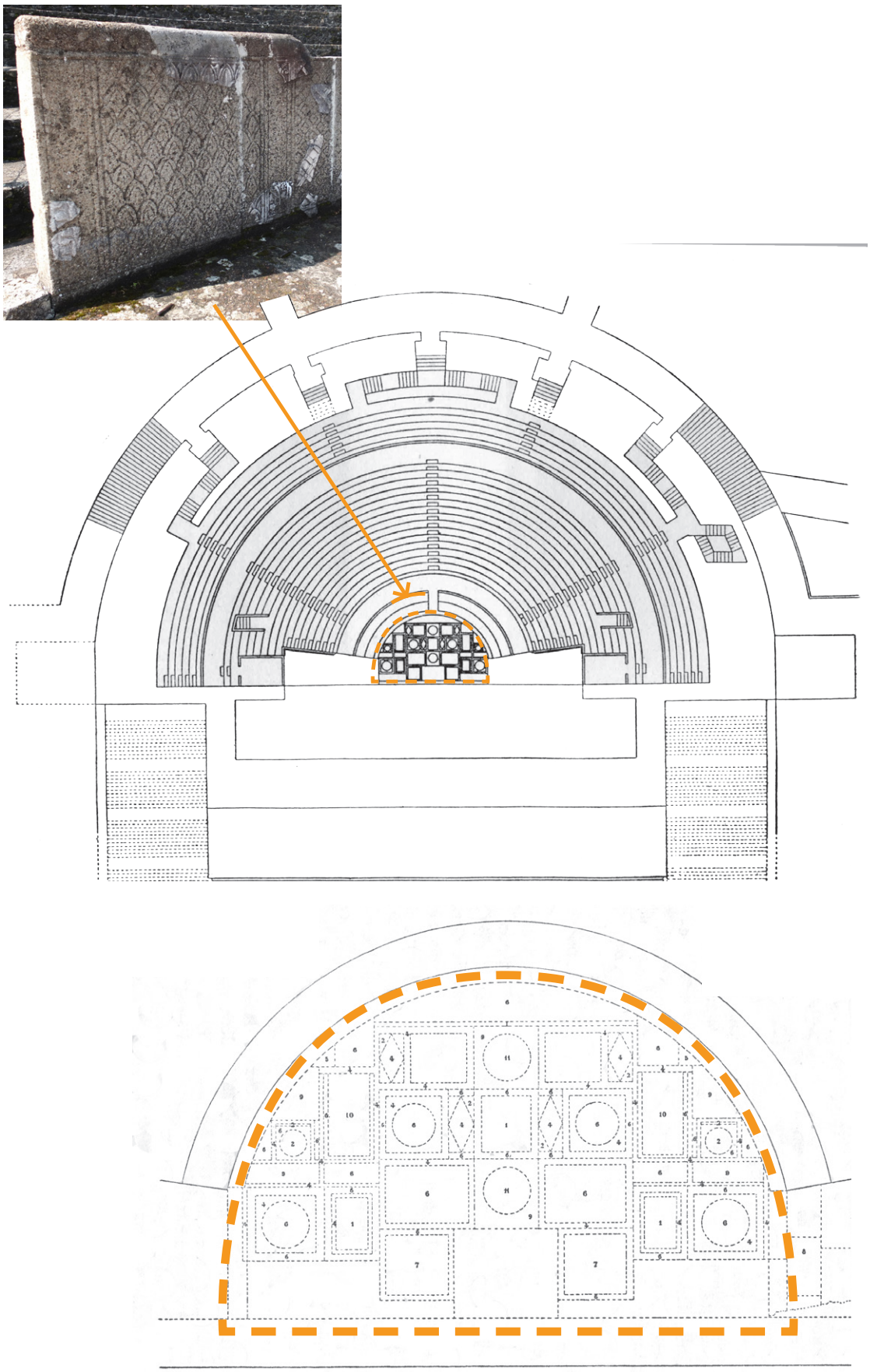


Figure 4.14 Plan and handrail and paving details of Lyon's odeon

a. view from top of Lyon's Augustan Theatre towards the Sanctuary of Cybele

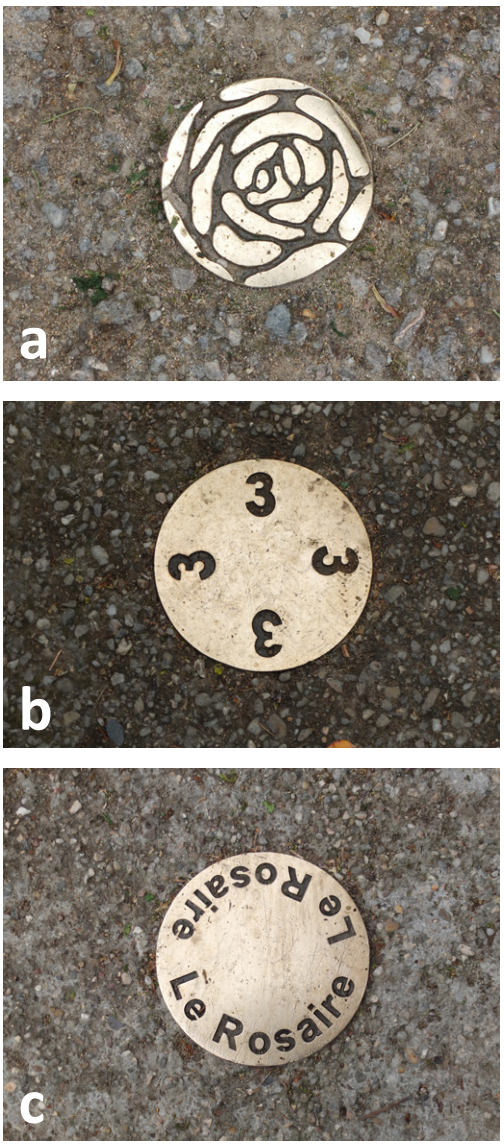
b. view from the Theatre along the porticoed shops on the north side of the theatre plaza

Figure 4.15 Theatre crossroads

Figure 4.16 Theatre stair street

view of the alley between Lyon's theatre and odeon with the red concrete finished public facilities in the foreground and the *decumanus* in the background

view back to the Basilique Notre Dame de Fourvière at the beginning of the Rosary Walk



images of the icons used to mark the Rosary Walk

Figure 4.17 Rosary walk from the Notre Dame de Fourvière

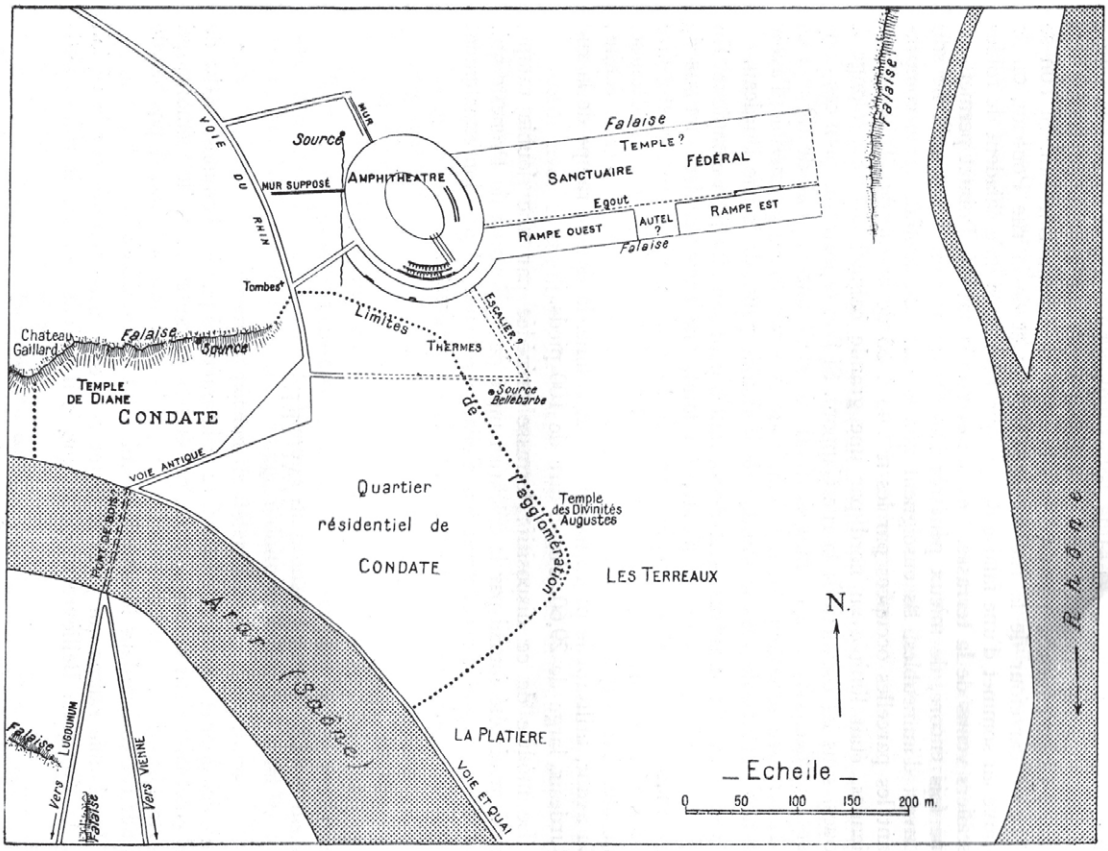


Figure 4.18 Plan of the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls

Figure 4.19 Coin showing the sanctuary and illustration based on the coin

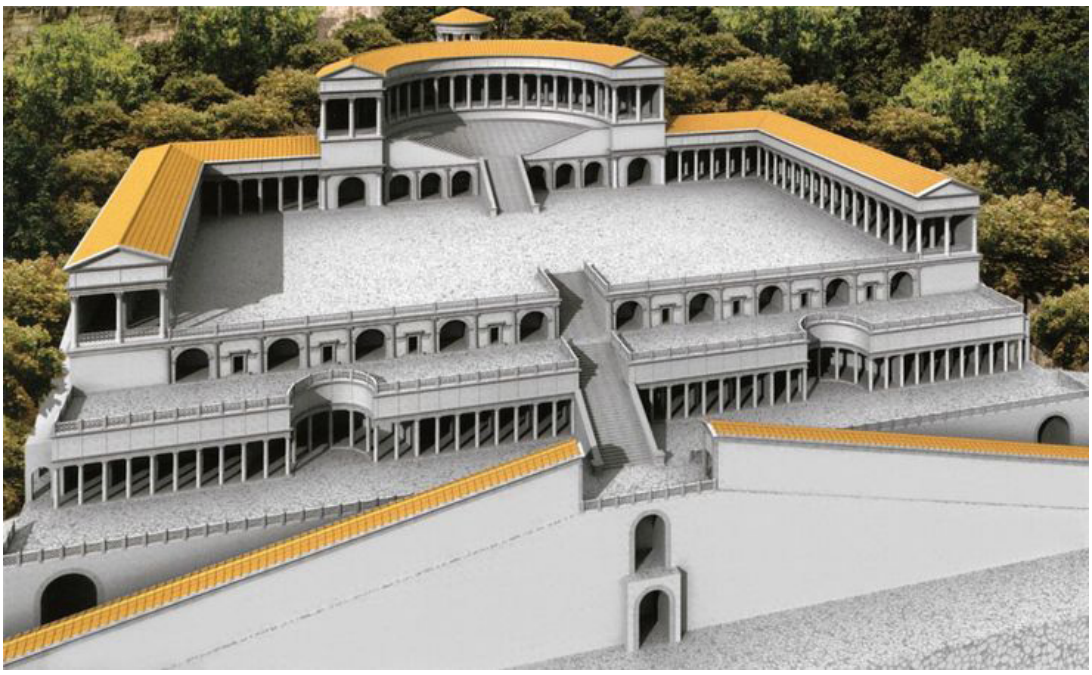


Figure 4.20 Reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste

Figure 4.21 Possible decorations from the Altar at the Sanctuary of the Three Gauls discovered in 1859 and now housed in the Musée Gallo-Romain du Lyon

Figure 4.22 Ara Pacis

Figure 4.23 The Amphitheatre of the Three Gauls with the Fourvière Hill (site of the Augustan forum) in the background (top right)

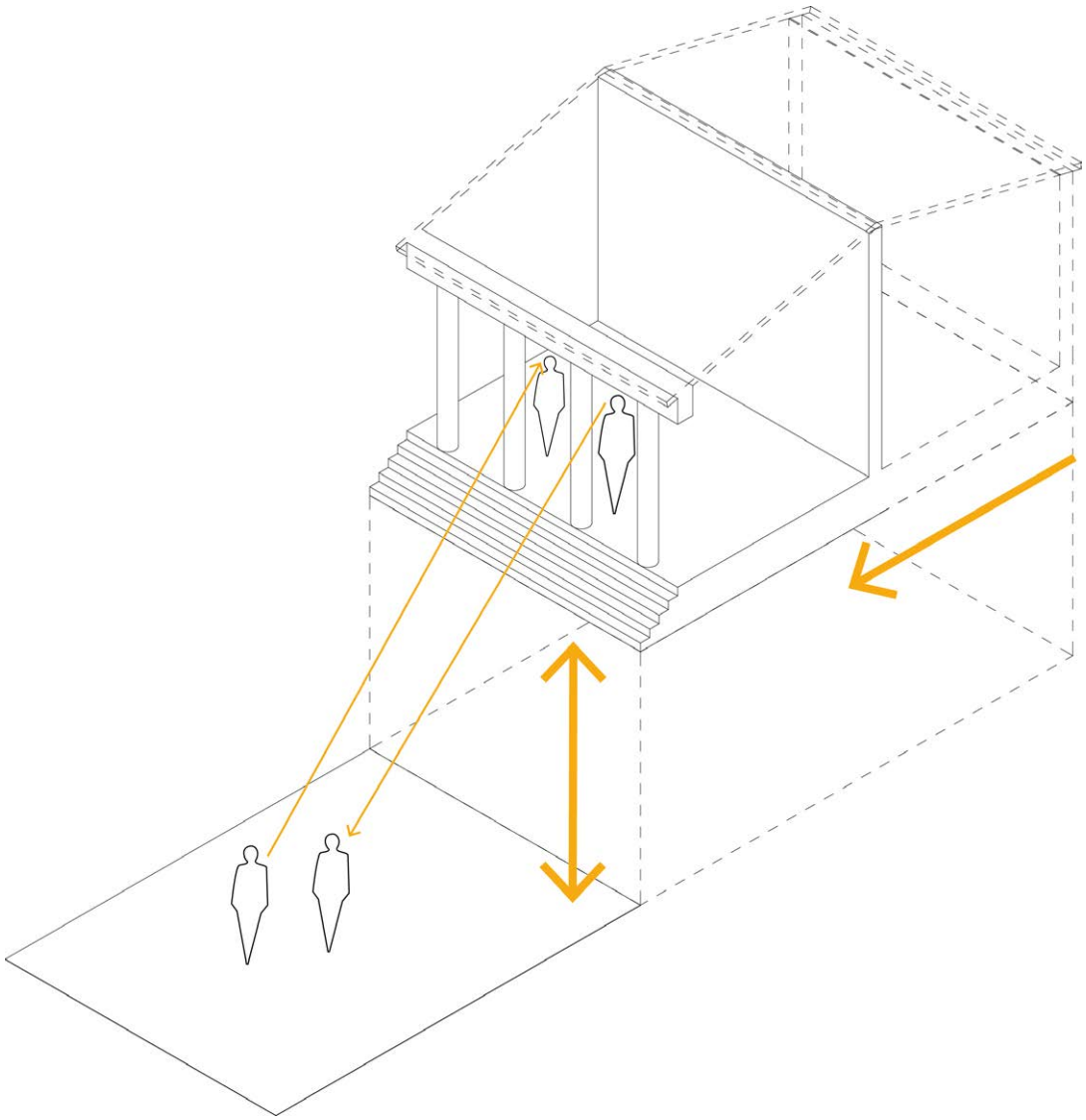


Figure 4.24 Diagram of the adaptation of the stoa form type seen in Lyon

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